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ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON:

ADJUSTMENT AND INTERGRATION

Volume II

A Research Report

Prepared for

The Royal Commission On

Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

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CHAPTER VII

ACCULTURATION AND VALUE CHANGE

Integration is a structural concept, referring to the interpenetration of the immigrant and the non-immigrant communities which results as the immigrant ventures into more and more spheres of life in the larger community, and as the larger community, in turn, accepts him more. Acculturation, on the other hand, is concerned with the persistence and change in attitudes and values which results when immigrant and dominant groups meet. It has been defined as: "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the originals' cultural patterns of either or both groups."¹

¹Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the study of acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVIII:1 (January-March, 1936), p. 149; cited in Gordon, *Assimilation in American life* (New York: Oxford University press, 1964), p. 61.

In this chapter we shall be concerned with three aspects of value change among the Italian members of our sample: (1) evidence of identification with the Italian culture; (2) evidence of change in the areas of aspirations for children, ideal number of children, and domination of children; and (3) more general value changes as indicated by subjects choices of values from one list of eleven values and another list of three values, by subjects' listing of leisure time activities, and by their listing of criteria important in the selection of a house for purchase.

Number (1) above needs no comment. The areas indicated in number (2) were singled out for particular consideration because all are of especial relevance in probing for value change in a sample from a Catholic, peasant background. The peasant trapped on his few worn-out acres cannot afford the luxury of aspirations for himself or his children. His church and his ignorance have both tended to make him unable to conceive of the possibility of there being an ideal number of children. And the patriarchalism of the peasant culture caused the attitude of parents toward their children to be a highly domineering one.

In this chapter, as in the previous two, we shall first present briefly the distribution of responses to the items which dealt with these three value areas. Then we shall seek to discover what factors are associated with attitude and value changes in these areas, breaking the independent variables down into pre-migration and post-migration variables.

INDICES OF IDENTIFICATION WITH ITALIAN CULTURE

There are five items which index identification with the Italian culture: the Italian chauvinism score and four of its component items: "Are you interested in building a "little Italy" in Edmonton?" "Do you think the Italian community should serve as a model for the Canadian neighbors?" "Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school like a separate school?" "Would you rather live in a small town where you could raise your children to learn Italian ways, then in a city where your children might get a better job, but might become disinterested in Italian customs?"

The Italian chauvinism scale is composed of nine items, some of which are quoted in the preceding paragraph. Respondents were asked merely to agree or to disagree with these items and the chauvinism score was obtained by counting the number of pro-Italian answers. The range of possible scores is from zero to nine, and the range of scores of the sample members was actually from one to nine. The mean score was 6.0, and three-fourths of the scores fell in the range from five through seven.

The distribution of responses to the four items are found in Table I. The data show that the most popular item advocated the establishment of an Italian elementary school, which was endorsed by four out of five respondents. The next most popular asked about building a "little Italy" in Edmonton, to which three-fourths of the sample answered yes. Two-thirds believed that the Italian community could indeed serve as a model for Canadian neighbors. However, it is the last item which tests the depth of commitment to "the Italian way of life" by pitting the perpetuation of this way of life against economic advancement. When this is done, about one out of six members of the sample prefer the non-threatening but less economically advantageous small town to the big city which is more threatening but more favorable in terms of opportunities. No further use is made of the latter item because of the lack of spread in the responses.

ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN, IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AND CHILD DOMINANCE

The job aspirations of subjects for their sons tended to run considerably higher than did the aspirations of male respondents for themselves. In 52 per cent of the cases the position mentioned was a higher professional position such as doctor or lawyer, and in another

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE TO FOUR ITEMS INDEXING INVOLVEMENT WITH
ITALIAN CULTURE, WITH PERCENTAGES

Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school like a separate school?

	Yes	No	Total
No.	327	85	412
Per Cent	79.4	20.6	100.0

Are you interested in building a "little Italy" in Edmonton?

	Yes	No	Total
No.	300	107	407
Per Cent	73.7	26.3	100.0

Do you think the Italian community should serve as a model for the Canadian neighbors?

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
No.	252	124	2	378
Per Cent	66.7	32.8	0.5	100.0

Would you rather live in a small town where you could raise your children to learn Italian ways, than in a city where your children might get a better job but might become dis-interested in Italian customs?

	Yes	No	Total
No.	62	341	407
Per Cent	15.4	84.6	100.0

12 per cent the choice was for a lower profession such as teacher or priest. Eleven per cent mentioned business or other white collar positions, and only 8.5 per cent of the respondents specifically mentioned blue collar positions. In 17 per cent of the cases the response could not be coded.

An attempt was made to evaluate the realism of these aspirations by comparing these responses to subjects' answers to the question "How far in school do you want to try to make sure that your sons will go?" Where limited educational aspirations were coupled with high occupational aspirations for the son, the aspirations were classified as unrealistic. It did not prove to be possible to make such a judgement for 129 subjects, but for the 289 where it was possible, in 56 per cent of the cases the aspirations for sons were rated as educationally (at least) realistic, and in the remaining 44 per cent they were rated as unrealistic.

In 13 per cent of the cases, the aspiration mentioned for the daughter was to become a housewife. In most of the remaining cases the positions aspired for were quite high: thirty-nine per cent of the respondents mentioned teaching and other professional positions. Thirty-three per cent mentioned semi-professional and clerical positions and only six per cent specified hand-work positions. In nine per cent of the cases the response could not be classified. Judgements as to how educationally realistic these aspirations were could be made for only 283 of the respondents. Of these, as with the aspirations for sons, 56 per cent were rated as educationally (at least) realistic, and in the remaining 44 per cent, they were rated as unrealistic.

The data on ideal number of children were already discussed in Chapter IV where it was pointed out that the ideal number of children specified by respondents was surprisingly small. The median fell between three and four children and only six per cent of the sample mentioned six or more children while 17 per cent of the sample mentioned one or two children as the ideal number. Thus, it appears that the peasant pattern of wanting large numbers of children is rapidly dying out in this sample.

The Child Domination scale which was used to measure subjects' tendencies to be dominating in their child rearing procedures was composed of seven items drawn from the dominance sub-scale of the Shoben Parent Attitudes Scale. Typical items were "A child should be required to consult his parents before making any kind of decision." and "Children should fear their parents to some degree." Items were scored on a four-point scale. The theoretical range was from seven to twenty-eight, and the actual range of scores was from fourteen to twenty-eight. Three-fourths of the scores fell in the range from 19 to 25, and a mean was 21.44. There is no adequate way of evaluating this mean in the absence of a Canadian control group, but since the theoretical median is 17.5, it is apparent that scores are skewed toward the high end of the scale.

In summary, it appears that subjects' occupational aspirations for their sons and daughters are quite high, perhaps unrealistically so in about 45 per cent of the cases. The ideal number of children specified by respondents is indicative of some change of the peasant large family pattern. The child dominance scores, although interpretation is hampered by lack of a Canadian control, suggests a decided emphasis on domination.

VALUE IDENTIFICATIONS

There are four sets of data that permit us to make some judgments about the value identifications of the sample members. Subjects were given a list of the following values--making money, politics, or community affairs, religious beliefs or activities, the respect of others, being well liked, being highly skilled in what I do, being a just and honest person, leisure time activities such as hunting and fishing, maintaining Italian traditions, and family relationships--and were asked to identify their first three choices.

A second set of data comes from responses to the question: "If you had your choice, would you most like to be: (a) successful, (b) independent, (c) well liked." The third source comes from subjects' responses to the question, "What kinds of things do you do in your spare time?" The fourth source is the answers to the question, "What was your main reason for buying this particular house, or which would influence you most if you were to buy a house?" (a) price of the house, (b) relatives living close by, (c) there are other Italians in the neighborhood, (d) it is close to good schools, (e) there are not other Italians in the neighborhood, (g) fashionable neighborhood, (h) other." From the answers to these last two questions, on leisure time activities and criteria in buying a house, the value identifications of the subjects could be inferred. These four sets of value data will be described briefly.

7.1. First Value Choices. The first value choices of the sample members in descending order of frequency, were as follows:

Family relations - 40.2 per cent;
Being a just and honest person - 26.5 per cent;

Religious beliefs or activities - 12.6 per cent;
 The respect of others and being well liked - 9.0 per cent;
 Being highly skilled in what I do - 6.3 per cent;
 Making money - 4.2 per cent;
 Leisure time activities, hunting, fishing - 0.7 per cent;
 Maintaining Italian traditions - 0.3 per cent.

These data clearly suggest that family relationships are the most important value, and that personal reputation is the second most important value for members of the sample. Religious involvement is also rather highly evaluated; money, skill, and leisure time activities are elected by only a very small proportion of the sample.

7.2 Other Value Choices. The combined second and third value choices of the sample members, in descending order of frequency, were as follows:

Being a just and honest person - 21.1 per cent;
 The respect of others and being well liked - 18.5 per cent;
 Family relations - 15.9 per cent;
 Religious beliefs or activities - 13.5 per cent;
 Being highly skilled in what I do - 11.6 per cent;
 Making money - 7.2 per cent;
 Leisure time activities, hunting, fishing - 6.9 per cent;
 Maintaining Italian traditions - 2.8 per cent; and
 Politics or community affairs - 2.3 per cent.

The second and third value choices reflect the same pattern as do the first value choices; a high evaluation of personal reputation and family relationships, and a rather high rating of religious involvement. Being highly skilled is valued more than making money, and the latter more valued than leisure time activities. Politics and community affairs ranks at the bottom of the list. Because of the high redundancy between these two lists of value choices only the first will be analyzed in terms of the pre- and post-migration independent variables in later sections of this chapter.

7.3. Success, Independence and Popularity Values. Consistent with the reponses of sample members to the more lengthy value list, we find that of these three values, "Being well liked" is chosen by a majority of the respondents, 54.6 per cent. Independence was the second most frequently chosen, by 27.7 per cent of the respondents, and "Successful" was the least frequently chosen with 17.8 per cent of the sample electing it.

7.4. Leisure Time Activities. The percentages of sample members indicating that they spent their spare time in the following ways are found below (first choices only):

- Visiting, being with the family - 23.8 per cent;
- Housekeeping and working around the home - 23.5 per cent;
- Radio, Television and movies - 22.2 per cent;
- Reading, writing letters, studying - 15.9 per cent;
- Hobby, dancing, fishing, cards, listening to music - 11.2 per cent;
- Handicrafts, mechanical hobbies, playing music - 1.7 per cent;
- Relax, rest, sleep - 1.6 per cent; and
- Drinking alcoholic beverages - 0.3 per cent.

These reports of spare time activities are consistent with the previous data in again indicating the importance of personal relationships with friends (visiting) and family (work around the home). As would be expected, passive forms of entertainment are very common also. In the analysis which is found in later sections of this chapter we shall be particularly interested in the relationship of changes in incidence of visiting and work-around-the-home spare time activities to the independent variables.

7.5. Criteria in Buying a House. The percentages of sample members indicating that they were most influenced by certain reasons in choice of a house are found below, ranked in decreasing order:

Price of house - 26.5 per cent;
 Good schools nearby - 26.0 per cent;
 Other Italians nearby - 15.6 per cent;
 No Italians nearby - 9.8 per cent;
 Fashionable neighborhood - 8.9 per cent;
 Relatives or friends nearby - 5.9 per cent;
 Close to work, town, shopping - 5.3 per cent;
 Quiet, no traffic - 2 per cent.

These reasons may be regrouped into economic reasons (26.5 per cent), convenient access to facilities--schools, work, shopping, etc. (31.3 per cent); reasons involving people--Italians, friends, relatives (21.5 per cent). These data show that even in the purchase of a house economic reasons are not pre-eminent, and reasons relating to people are frequently cited. This again appears to reflect the importance of relationship values, and the relatively small priority given to economic values.

In summary, the data cited above appear to clearly demonstrate the importance of family and other personal relationships, of personal reputation, and of religious involvement, to the members of our sample. All of these appear to take precedence over economic values. The latter, however, in turn, appear to be more important than leisure, entertainment, "good time" values, among the sample members.

IDENTIFICATION WITH ITALIAN CULTURE AND THE PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES

7.6. Pre-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between the indices of identification with the Italian culture and the pre-migration variables are summarized in Table II. We shall consider the chauvinism score first, and then the component items. Among the men, older subjects had higher scores than younger subjects, but this was not

TABLE II

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF ITALIAN IDENTIFICATION AND PRE-
MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATION-
SHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Build Little Italy	Estab. Italian School	Model Italian	Italian Chauvinism
Relationship between Indices and Identification	+	+	+	+
Demographic		Young	Old	
Age	0	Men -1%	Women +5%	Male +5%
Sex	0	0	0	0
Marital Status	Marr. +.1%	Marr. +.1%	0	Marr. +.1%
Ecological				
Rural-Urban Origins	Urb. -1%	0	0	0
North-South Origins	Nor. -1%	Nor. -.1%	0	Nor. -1%
Social Class				
Education	-.1%	-.1%	-5%	-1%
Occupation of Father	-2%	-2%	-1%	0
Man's last It. Occupation	-1%	-1%	-1%	-5%
Personality				
Freq. of Church Att.	0	0	0	0
Chauvinism	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	R
Neuroticism	+.1%	+.1%	0	+5%
Dogmatism	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
Alienation	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%

^a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvi-
linear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant
relationship.

true of women, nor were there differences between the two sex groups. Married subjects had higher scores--as a result of the male age differences--and so did those from Southern Italy. Chauvinism scores were inversely related to two of the three social status indices; education, and level of the last work position held in Italy. The scores were also directly related to three personality scores; neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation.

Turning to three component items, "Are you interested in building a "little Italy" in Edmonton?" "Do you think the Italian community could serve as a model for the Canadian neighbors?" and "Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school, like a separate school" we find little association between them and the demographic variables, except that married people consistently gave more affirmative responses than did single subjects. Southern subjects gave more affirmative responses than Northern ones did for two of the three items, and rural subjects were more in favor of building a little Italy than were urban subjects.

All three measures of social class in Italy, education, occupation of the father, and the subject's (husband's) last occupational level in Italy, were inversely associated with the tendency to make affirmative responses to these items. Similarly, the three personality scores; neuroticism, dogmatism and alienation were directly associated with the tendency to make affirmative responses to these items, with but one exception.

In summary, it is very clear that identification with the

Italian culture, as measured by the chauvinism score, and the specific items we have dealt with above, is a lower class Italian phenomena, associated with Southern, rural, and lower class Italian backgrounds and with the personality characteristics which are associated with these ecological and class linked features.

7.7. Post-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between the indices of identification with the Italian culture and the pre-migration variables are summarized in Table III. The data there show that high chauvinism scores are associated with living in the Italian community, with having close relationships with relatives in Edmonton, with not having close non-Italian friends, with reading English publications, with coming from a family in which there is intermarriage, and with three indices of social class in Canada--the level of the man's current occupation; the level of the man's first job in Canada; and his mobility compared with his father's occupational level. Two interesting negative findings here are that although there is a slight inverse relationship between chauvinism scores and length of residence in Canada it is not significant, and there is no relationship at all between chauvinism and naturalization. We may suggest that most of the relationships cited above--whether or not subjects live in the Italian community, have close relationships with relatives or non-Italian friends, read English publications, have high or low social class standing in Canada, etc.,--were perhaps largely determined by education and other Italian social class cultural influences rather than by explicitly Canadian influences. This possibility is strengthened by the negative findings just cited; that neither duration of Canadian residence nor naturalization are significantly related to chauvinism scores.

TABLE III

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF ITALIAN IDENTIFICATION AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Build Little Italy	Estab. Italian Schools	Italian Model	Chauvinism
Relationship between Indices and Identification Post-Migration Variables	+	+	+	+
Ecological				
Lives in It. Community	+1%	+1%	+5%	+5%
Interpersonal Interaction				
Non-Italian Friends	+1%	+1%	-1%	-1%
Relatives in Edmonton	+5%	+1%	+5%	+5%
Close Italian Relations	+5%	+1%	+1%	+5%
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	0	-1%	-5%	-5%
Cultural Exposure				
Duration of Can. Resid.	0	0	0	0
Reads It. Papers	0	0	0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	-1%	-1%	0	-1%
Reads It/Eng. Magazines	Eng -1%	Eng -1%	Eng -5%	Eng -1%
	It +1%	It +1%	It +1%	
Freq. Watching TV	0	0		0
Sources of Information				
Radio	0	0	0	0
People	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0,	0	0
Number of Sources of Info.	-1%	0	0	0
Social Class				
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	0	0	-2%
Level of Current Can. Job	-1%	-1%	0	-1%
Mobility Comp/w father	+1%	0	0	-5%
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0	0	+5%	0
Participation Score	-5%	-1%	0	0
Is Naturalized	0	0	0	0

^a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

Turning to the relationships between the three chauvinism indices and the post-migration variables, we find that living in the Italian community is associated with making affirmative responses to all three indices. Having close relationships with relatives in Edmonton is also associated with affirmative responses, as is not having close non-Italian friends, for all three indices. Reading English publications, and belonging to a family in which there is intermarriage is associated with making negative responses to these items.

There are somewhat spotty relationships between the indices and the measures of social class in Canada. The relationship between current social class position and making more chauvinistic responses to the items is an inverse one. However, the relationship between one of the mobility indices and the affirmative responses to the item stating that the Italian community should serve as a model to Canadian neighbors is a direct one. The reason is that most of the respondents who are upwardly mobile on this measure are people who were lower class in Italy--those who were in higher class positions in Italy have found it much more difficult to move on beyond their Italian positions here in Canada. Thus, what these relationships show is that subjects who were upper class in Italy and have not been upwardly mobile here more often disagree with the statement than the lower class people who have been upwardly mobile in this country.

Again we find that length of residence in Canada, and whether or not the respondent is naturalized are unrelated to the criterion items. It is clear too, that the relationships involving the Canadian social class indices are few and spotty. Only the relationships involving area of residence, interpersonal relationships, and reading of

English publications are consistent. This pattern again prompts the suggestion, made earlier in the discussion of the chauvinism score, that the data suggest that rather than being very much affected by Canadian influences, chauvinism as measured by our scale is basically a product of certain patterns of Italian experiences. Instead of being responsive to acculturative influences in Canada, it appears to be selective of the influences to which the immigrant is exposed. Apparently it does not at all hinder the person's commitment of his fortunes to Canada in terms of naturalization, but neither is it affected by prolonged residence here.

It is rather clear that the tendencies of sample members to identify with the Italian culture as indexed by the data which we have described here are primarily a product of the socialization of subjects in different regional and social class sub-cultures. Those from Southern Italian and lower class backgrounds in Italy and who show the personality score patterns characteristic of these backgrounds--high neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores--are high in chauvinism. Their opposites are low. There is evidence that the first group tends to develop a distinctive pattern of adaptation after they arrive in Edmonton, involving living in the Italian community, interacting frequently with relatives, having no close non-Italian friends, and not reading English publications. Their chauvinistic tendencies are largely unaffected by the influences of the Canadian scene in which they find themselves. On the other hand, those from Italian backgrounds which predispose them little to chauvinism are much more open to Canadian cultural influences; living in non-Italian areas, having non-Italian close friends, reading English publications, etc., and their chauvinism,

of course, remains low. Thus it appears that, in brief, the Italian community tends to attract those who are high in chauvinistic tendencies, and to operate in such a way as to permit the survival of these tendencies over rather long periods of time, at least in the case of those who choose to remain there.

PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES, IDEAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND CHILD DOMINANCE AND ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND REALISM OF ASPIRATIONS

7.8. Pre-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between these variables and the pre-migration variables are summarized in Table IV. In general, men have higher aspirations for their sons, and women are more vague about aspirations for their sons, but have higher occupational aspirations for their daughters. The men, on the other hand, more often aspire for their daughters to become housekeepers. Older men had less realistic aspirations for their sons than did any of the other age-sex groups. The aspirations of men for their daughters were more realistic than were those of the women, and especially was this true of young men and women. Men reported a lower ideal number of children than women, and older men and women give a higher number than their juniors. Unmarried subjects (almost all young men) have higher or lower self-aspirations, lower aspirations, and lower child dominance scores than do married subjects in the sample.

The only association between rural-urban background and any of the six dependent variables involve child dominance--rural subjects have higher dominance scores than do urban subjects. Those from the North of Italy have higher job aspirations for daughters, and more

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES
WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Aspirations for Son	Aspirations for daughter	Ideal Number Child.	Child Dominance
Relationship of Indices to Acculturation	+	+	+	+
Pre-Migration Variables				
Demographic				
Age	-1%	Women +1%	+1%	0
Sex	5%	" +1%	Men -5%	0
Marital Status	0	+1%	0	+1%
Ecological				
Rural-Urban Origins	0	0	0	-.1%
North-South Origins	0	North +5%	North -5%	North -1%
Social Class				
Education	+5%	+5%	-5%	-.1%
Occupation of Father	+5%	+2%	0	-5%
Man's last Italian Occupa.	0	Prof. +5%	0	-.1%
Personality				
Freq. of Church Att.	-1%	0	0	0
Chauvinism	0	-5%	+1%	+1%
Neuroticism	0	0	+5%	+5%
Dogmatism	-2%	-5%	0	+1%
Alienation	-5%	0	0	+1%

^a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R - redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

realistic aspirations for both sons and daughters, than do those from the South. They also report a smaller ideal number of children and have lower dominance scores than do those from the South.

The indices of social class in Italy are directly related to level of aspiration for self (male), for sons, and for daughters, and to realism of aspirations for sons and daughters, and inversely related to child dominance, and education (alone) is inversely related to ideal number of children.

Of the personality measures frequency of church attendance is related only to aspirations for sons, and here the relationship is an inverse one. Italian chauvinism is inversely related to aspirations for daughters and to realism of aspirations for sons and directly related to ideal number of children and to child dominance tendencies. Neuroticism scores are inversely related to self aspirations and to realism of aspirations for sons, and directly related to ideal number of children and to child dominance scores. Dogmatism is inversely related to job aspirations for self, for sons and for daughters and to realism of aspirations for daughters and is directly related to child dominance. Alienation is inversely related to aspirations for self and for sons and to realism of aspirations for sons and daughters and is directly related to child dominance.

In summary, higher aspirations for sons are characteristic of younger men, and such aspirations for daughters are characteristic of women and especially older women. Higher aspirations for both are associated with higher social class standing in Italy and with low scores on neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation. Realistic aspirations

for sons and daughters are generally more characteristic of those from Northern Italy, those from higher social class backgrounds and those having low personality scores. The desire for many children is more characteristic of older, and female subjects, of those who are from the Southern part of Italy, with little education and high chauvinism and neuroticism scores. High child dominance tendencies show the same pattern, being more characteristic of married subjects, those from Southern and rural Italian areas, from lower class backgrounds, and having high scores on the personality measures. Thus, high aspirations for sons and daughters, fewer children, and a more permissive approach to children are all more characteristic of Northern Italians, from a higher class background, who have low chauvinism, and low neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation tendencies.

7.9. Post-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between vocational aspirations for sons and daughters, realism of these aspirations, ideal number of children, and child dominance and the post-migration variables are summarized in Table V. The data show that higher aspirations for daughters are associated with those who have lived only in the Italian or the non-Italian areas, and that low child dominance is associated with living in non-Italian areas. Those who have lived in both have the most realistic aspirations for daughters.

The indices of interpersonal interaction show that having closer relationships with relatives and Italian friends is associated with lower aspirations for sons and daughters, stating a larger ideal number of children, and with higher child dominance scores. Having close non-Italian friends, on the other hand, is associated with higher

TABLE V

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACCULTURATION INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Aspirations for Son	Aspirations for Daughter	Ideal Number of Children	Child Dominance	p
Relationship of Indices to Acculturation	+	+	-	-	
Ecological					
Live in Ital. Comm.	0	+5%	0	No	-1%
Interpersonal Relationships					
Non-Italian Friends	+5%	+1%	0		-5%
Relatives in Edmonton	0	-1%	+1%		+2%
Prim. Rel.	-1%	0	+5%		+5%
Cultural Exposure					
Length of Can. Residence	+5%	+5%	0		-5%
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	+2%	+5%	0		-5%
Reads It. papers	+5%	+5%	+5%		0
Reads Eng. papers	+1%	+1%	0		-.1%
Reads It/Eng Magazines	+1%	0	-5%	Eng	-.1%
Freq. Watches TV	0	0	0		0
Radio	0	0	0		0
People	0	-5%	0		0
School	+1%	+1%	0		0
Church	0	0	+5%		0
Number of Sources of Info.	0	+1%	0		0
Social Class					
1st Can. Job	0	0	0		0
Hol. Can. Occ.	0	0	0		0
Mobility Comp/w Father	0	0	0		0
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0	0	0		+5%
Naturalization	0	+5%	0		-5%
Participation	+1%	+1%	0		-5%

^a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

aspirations for sons and daughters with realistic aspirations for sons and with lower dominance scores.

Duration of Canadian residence is directly associated with higher job aspirations for sons, and daughters, and inversely associated with child dominance. It is not, however, related to realism of aspirations. Reading English publications is directly associated with higher aspirations for sons, and for daughters, and with these aspirations being more realistic. It is inversely associated with wishing for many children and with high child dominance scores. Reading Italian publications is directly associated with high aspirations for offspring and with wishing for many children. Intermarriage within the subject's immediate family is directly associated with higher aspirations for daughters, and with more realistic aspirations for sons and daughters. It is inversely associated with child dominance scores. Other associations between the indices of cultural exposure and the criterion variables are sparse: higher aspirations for sons are characteristic of those who mention the school as a source of information, and for daughters are characteristic of those having many sources of information, who do cite school and church, and who do not cite people as sources of information. Realistic aspirations for both sons and daughters are characteristic of those having many sources of information; realistic aspirations for daughters are also characteristic of those who watch television infrequently, who do not cite people as a source of information, but do cite the church as a source of information. High child dominance scores are characteristic of those citing the church as a source of information.

Therefore there are very few significant relationships between the indices of social class in Canada and the criterion variables. Mobility in comparison with the man's last Italian job is inversely associated with realism of aspirations for daughters, and directly associated with child dominance scores, probably because those who are upwardly mobile in terms of this index are usually those from lower class Italian backgrounds, whom, as we have seen before, tend to have unrealistic aspirations and high dominance scores.

Being naturalized is directly associated with high occupational aspirations for daughters, and inversely associated with child dominance scores but is unrelated to realism of aspirations.

These data show rather clearly that Italian social status indices are far more frequently associated significantly with the criterion variables than are the indices of social class in Canada. Since most of the subjects were raised in Italy this finding suggests that socialization in Italy is more powerfully related to response to the criterion items than is acculturation in Canada. In contradiction to this generalization is the fact that both naturalization and length of residence in Canada are associated with most of the criterion items.

In summary, high occupational aspirations for sons, and for daughters, wishing for few children, and low child dominance tendencies are related to frequent interaction with non-Italians, and infrequent interaction with relatives, to lengthy Canadian residence, to reading of English publications, and to naturalization. Realistic aspirations for both sons and daughters are related to intermarriage within the family, reading English publications, and having many sources

of information. All of the dependent variables are largely unrelated to the other indices of cultural exposure and to Canadian social class indices. Since English facility is very closely related to social class level in Italy, and the forming of friendships with non-Italians is associated with English facility, it appears that subjects' performance on these "acculturation indices" is largely related to his pre-migration characteristics, both in terms of his having acquired relevant response tendencies before coming to Canada, and in terms of his pre-migration experiences, making available to him certain experiences in this country which may have had acculturational effects on him. In contradiction to this, however, it should be reiterated that duration of Canadian residence and naturalization (which is, to some extent, also an index of duration) also correlate with the acculturation indices which we have been discussing.

VALUE IDENTIFICATION INDICES AND THE PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES

7.10. The Six Value Index: Pre-Migration Variable. One index of subject's value identifications was their choice of one of the following values as most important to them: family relationships, religious beliefs and activities, being respected or well liked, being highly skilled, or being just and honest. The interrelationships between these value choices and the pre-migration variables are found in Table VI. Significant associations between the pre-migration variables and the value choices occur with about equal frequency for all five values--family relationships, religious activities, being well respected, being highly skilled and being just and honest. Choice of family relationships was most frequent among older

TABLE VI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUE IDENTIFICATION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Family Values	Religion	Well Respected	Highly Skilled	Just and Honest
Pre-Migration Variables					
Demographic					
Age	Old +1%	O	Old +5%	O	Old Men
Sex	Women +1%	W. +1%	O	W. -1%	Old Wom. -5%
Marital Status	M. +5%	M. +2%	M. -2%	M. -2%	W. -1%
Ecological					
Rural-Urban Origins	O	O	Urb. +5%	O	Urb. -5 %
North-South Origins	O	O	O	O	O
Social Class					
Education	-5%	O	O	O	O
Occupation of Father	O				
Man's last It. Occup.	O	O	O	O	O
Personality					
Freq. of Church Att.	O	O-	O	O	O
Chauvinism	+5%	+5%	-5%	-5%	O
Neuroticism	O	O	O	O	O
Dogmatism	O	O	O	O	O
Alienation	O	O	-1%	+1%	+5%

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; O = no relationship.

subjects, women, married subjects, those with little education and those high on chauvinism. The importance of religious activities was most often cited by women, married people, those with low educational attainments, those with high chauvinism scores and with high neuroticism scores. Being well respected was most often cited by older respondents, by those who are single, who are from urban areas, and have low chauvinism scores. The importance of being highly skilled was most frequently mentioned first by men, by single subjects, by those who attend church infrequently, and those with low chauvinism scores. Being just and honest was mentioned first most often by older men, by married subjects, by rural dwellers, and by those with high alienation scores.

7.11. Post-Migration Variables. The interrelationships of the post-migration variables with these value choices are summarized in Table VII. Choice of family relationships was directly associated with living in the Italian community, with having relatives in Edmonton, with having close relationships with Italians, and with reading Italian magazines. It is inversely associated with having close non-Italian friends, with intermarriage of self or siblings, with reading English publications, with frequency of viewing television, with citing school or church as a source of information, with having many sources of information, with a higher class position as measured by three of the four indices, and with naturalization. The importance of religious activities was most often mentioned by those who did check the church, and did not check people and school as sources of information, who had not been upwardly mobile in Canada, and who had low level first jobs in Canada. Being well respected was most often mentioned by those who have been

TABLE VII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUE IDENTIFICATION INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Family Values	Religion	Well Respected	Skilled	Just and Honest
Relationship of Indices to Value Identification	+	+	+	+	+
Post-Migration Variables					
Ecological					
Lives in Italian Comm.	+5%	0	0	0	0
Interpersonal Interaction					
Non-Italian Friends	-1%	0	0	+5%	0
Relatives in Edmonton	+5%	0	0	0	-5%
Close Italian Relations	+5%	0	0	0	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	-2%	0	0	0	0
Cultural Exposure					
Duration of Can. Resid.	0	0	0	0	0
Reads Italian papers	0	0	0	0	0
Reads English papers	-5%	0	0	0	0
Reads It/Eng. Magazines	Eng-5%	0	0	0	0
Freq. Watching TV	-5%	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information					
Radio	0	0	0	0	0
People	0	-5%	0	0	+5%
School	-5%	-5%	0	+5%	0
Church	-5%	0	0	0	0
Number of Sources of Info.	-5%	0	0	0	0
Social Class					
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	0	0	0	0
Level of Current Can. Job	-2%	0	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	-5%	0	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	-5%	-5%	0	0	+5%
Participation Score	0	-5%	+5%	0	0
Is Naturalized	-5%	0	0	0	0

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; 0 = no significant relationship.

upwardly mobile. The importance of being highly skilled was most frequently mentioned first by those with close non-Italian friends, who mention school as a source of information, and who have high level first jobs in Canada. Being just and honest was mentioned first most often by those who did mention people, and did not mention school and church as sources of information, by those who have been upwardly mobile, and those who now hold a higher level occupational position.

It is not easy to find a pattern in this rather sparse and scattered group of relationships. However, the task is considerably simplified if we may make the critical assumption that respondent characteristics which we have found repeatedly associated with indices of accommodation to Canadian society--with good adjustment, integration, and acculturation--may be taken as identifying subjects who are well adjusted, integrated, and acculturated with respect to Canadian society. If we may make this assumption, we will have a basis for identifying value patterns which are characteristic of acculturation. We have no other basis since no study of the value patterns characteristic of the Prairie provinces has been made, and since we do not have data for a native Canadian control group.

Proceeding in terms of this assumption, then, we can confidently state that those subjects from Northern, urban areas in Italy, from higher class backgrounds who have low chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores, who live outside of the Italian community, have relatively few relationships with their relatives but do have non-Italian close friends, who read English publications, have intermarriage within their families, have lived for eight or more years in Canada, look to the school as a source of information, have been upwardly mobile in Canada, have been naturalized--these are the better adjusted and integrated

members of the sample. When the five most frequently cited first value choices are tabulated in terms of their association with these elements of the better integrated and more acculturated syndrome, the following relationships are found. The tendency to check family relationships and religious beliefs and activities as most important is consistently significantly inversely associated with elements of the well integrated pattern. The tendency to check "being highly skilled in what I do," and "respect of others," and "being well liked," as most important is consistently significantly associated directly with elements of the well integrated pattern.

The tendency to check "being a just and honest person" is significantly associated with both characteristics of the well integrated and with characteristics of the poorly integrated with about equal frequency. Of the former, it is associated with not having relatives in Edmonton, with intermarriage in the respondent's family and with upward mobility in comparison with the man's last Italian job. In the case of subjects without relatives in Edmonton, and from intermarried families, the tendency to select "being just and honest" is associated with a tendency not to check "family relationships." In the case of those experiencing upward mobility in comparison with the last Italian job, the tendency is associated with a decrease in checking "religious beliefs and activities." It is our impression that in the process of value change which the data suggest, "being a just and honest person" is a value intermediate between the greater sacredness of religious and family values and the greater secularism of skill and popularity values.

In summary, if the assumptions on which this analysis have been based are granted, it is clear that the process of integration and acculturation of immigrants involves the secularization of their value

commitments. There is evidence of decreasing identification with family, religion, and to a lesser extent, with personal honor values, and of increased identification with instrumental (skill) and popularity (well liked) values. It is intriguing that there is such slight association between the indices of cultural exposure--duration of Canadian residence, and reading of English publications. The data support the popular dictum that changes in value identifications are caught from interacting with non-Italians, and being isolated from interaction with relatives, rather than taught by mere exposure to a culture.

7.12. The Three Value Index: Pre-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between choice of success, independence, and popularity values and the pre-migration variables are found in Table VIII. The data show that identification with the popularity value was most characteristic of young men and least characteristic of young women, whereas identification with the independence value was most characteristic of young women. Better educated subjects preferred success and less well educated subjects hoped for independence. Subjects who scored high, and also those who scored low, more often checked "well liked." Other relationships between these value choices and the pre-migration variables were not significant.

7.13. Post-Migration Variables. In Table IX are found the interrelationships between choice of success, independence and popularity values with the post-migration variables. Success was most often preferred

TABLE VIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUE INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH THE INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL OF CHI-SQUARE

	Success	Independence	Popularity
Pre-Migration Variables			
Relationship of Indices to Values	+	+	+
Demographic			
Age			Young Men +5%
			Older Men -5%
			Young Wom.-5%
	0	0	Older Wom.+5%
Sex	0	Young W.+	Young Wom.-5%
		Young M.-5%	Young Men +5%
Marital Status	0	0	0
Ecological			
Rural-Urban Origins	0	0	0
North-South Origins	0	0	0
Social Class			
Education	+5%	-5%	0
Occupation of Father	0	0	0
Man's last Ital. Occup.	0	0	0
Personality			
Freq. of Church Att.	0	0	0
Chauvinism	0	0	0
Neuroticism	0	0	0
Dogmatism	0	0	+5%
Alienation	0	0	0

^a + = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R - redundant; 0 = no significant relationship.

TABLE IX

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUE INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Success	Independence	Popularity
Relationship of Indices to Values	+	+	+
Post-Migration Variables			
Ecological			
Lives in Italina Community	-5%	+5%	0
Interpersonal Interaction			
Non-Italian friends	+5%	-5%	0
Relatives in Edmonton	0	-5%	+5%
Close Italian Relations	0	0	+2%
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	0	0	0
Cultural Exposure			
Duration of Can. Resid.	0	0	0
Reads Italian papers	0	0	0
Reads English papers	0	0	0
Reads Italian/English Magazines	Eng +5%	0	Eng -5%
Freq. Watching TV	0	0	0
Sources of Information			
Radio	0	0	0
People	0	0	0
School	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0
Number of Sources of Information	0	0	0
Social Class			
Level of 1st Canad. Job	0	0	0
Level of Current Canad. Job	+5%	0	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0	0	0
Participation Score	0	0	0
Is Naturalized	0	0	0

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; 0 = no significant relationship.

over the other two values by those who have close non-Italian friends, who read English publications, who currently have higher status occupational positions, and who have been naturalized, and least often mentioned by those living in the Italian community. Independence is most often preferred by those who live in the Italian community, who are members of families in which there is intermarriage, and who mentioned the school as an important source of information, and least mentioned by those having non-Italian friends, who have relatives in Edmonton, and who read English newspapers. Being well liked was preferred over the other two values by those who have relatives in Edmonton, who interact frequently with relatives and who read Italian newspapers, and least mentioned by those having intermarriage within their families, and those who are naturalized.

If we may again make the assumption, discussed in the last section of this chapter, that characteristics of subjects well integrated and acculturated into Canadian society may be used as acculturation and integration indices, we may identify the value changes associated with acculturation to Canadian society. It is clear from the data cited above that there is a progression, from "being well liked" which is associated uniformly with non-acculturation characteristics, through "being independent" which is associated with some indices characteristic of well integrated and some of less integrated subjects;^{to} "being successful," which is associated only with indices which are components of the well integrated pattern.

This progression of changes in value identifications is, of course, what one would expect. Success and independence were not realizable hopes for the peasants and laboring class people who constitute

the bulk of the sample, while they were yet in Italy. Indeed, aside from the demographic variables, the only pre-migration variable associated with choice of these values was education--higher education subjects did in fact tend to choose the success value. Those who first realize the opportunities that Canada has to offer, and their chances of grasping them, hope for independence; income property. But it is only the subjects who are best integrated into Canadian society who can hope for and perhaps dream about success on the materialistic scale in which success is usually defined.

It should be noted that in the context of these three value choices, the popularity value was associated with minimal acculturation, whereas in the context of the eleven value choices discussed in the last section choice of the popularity value was associated with maximum acculturation. It should be noted that in the latter case the popularity value was pitted against more sacred values--religion and the family--whereas in the present case it is contrasted with two more materialistic values, independence and success. These two sets of data strongly suggest that the value hierarchy of the typical less acculturated sample member places family relationship and religious values first, popularity and respect values second, and materialism values third--the low evaluation of making money in the other data is supporting evidence. Acculturation tends toward a reversing of this hierarchy, with success values becoming increasingly important, and popularity and religious and family values become less important.

7.14. The Leisure Time Activities Index: Pre-Migration Variables.

In the analysis which follows we shall treat visiting and working around the home--including housework--as more traditional Italian relationship values, since they involve time investment with friends or for family. We shall treat reading and hobbies as more individualistic, more acculturated values, since their pull is away from the traditional involvements with people. The relevant data are found in Table X. The relationship leisure time activities (visiting and homework) are more characteristic of older subjects, married subjects, rural subjects, from lower class Italian backgrounds (as indicated by occupation of father, amount of education and level of last Italian occupation). These subjects attend church frequently, have high chauvinism scores and high alienation scores. Only in the case of the variable "frequency of church attendance" was there a simultaneous association with both a relationship activity (housework) and an individualism activity. The individualism activities were more characteristic of younger subjects, single subjects, urban subjects, from upper class Italian backgrounds, who had low chauvinism scores. Frequent watching of television was inversely associated with church attendance and with alienation scores. The pattern of characteristics of those who engage in individualistic leisure activities is very similar to that of the more integrated and acculturated members of the sample.

7.15. Post-Migration Variables. The relationships between the post-migration variables and leisure time activities reported by subjects are summarized in Table XI.

TABLE X

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEISURE TIME INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES
WITH THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL OF CHI-
SQUARE

	Tele- vision	House- work	Read	Study	Hobby	Visit
Relationship of Indices to Leisure Time	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pre-Migration Variables						
Demographic		Old	Old		Old	Old
Age	0	Wom. +5%	Wom. -5%	0	Men -5%	Men +5%
Sex	0	Men -5%	0	0	Men +5%	Men +5%
Marital Status	0	Sin. -.1%	Sin -.1%	0	Sin. +.1%	0
Ecological						
Rural-Urban Origins	0	Urb. -1%	Urb.+1%	0	0	Urb. -1%
North-South Origins	0	0	Nor.+1%	N.-1%	0	0
Social Class						
Education	0	-1%	+1%	0	+1%	-1%
Occupation of Father	0	0	0	0	00	0
Man's last It.Occup.		-5%	+5%	0	0	-5%
Personality						
Freq. of Church Att.	-5%	+5%	+5%	0	0	0
Chauvinism	0	-5%	+5%	0	+5%	-5%
Neuroticism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dogmatism	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alienation	-5%	0	0	0	0	+5%

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; 0 = no relationship.

TABLE XI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEISURE TIME INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES
WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Tele- vision	House- work	Read	Study	Hobby	Visit
Relationship of Indices to Leisure Time	+	+	+	+	+	+
Post-Migration Variables						
Ecological						
Lives in Ital. Commun.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interpersonal Interaction						
Non-Italian friends	0	-1%	+1%	0	+1%	0
Relatives in Edmonton	0	0	-5%	0	-5%	+5%
Close Italian Relations	0	+1%	-5%	0	-1%	+1%
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	0	-.1%	0	0	+1%	-.1%
Cultural Exposure						
Duration of Can. Resid.	0	+5%	-5%	-5%	0	0
Reads It. Papers	-1%	-1%	+1%	0	0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	0	-.1%	+1%	0	+1%	0
Reads It/Eng Magazines	0	Ital+.1%	Eng+.1%	0	Eng +.1%	0
Freq. Watching TV	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information						
Radio	0	+1%	0	0	0	-1%
People	0	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Sources of Info	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social Class						
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	0	0	+5%	0	-5%
Level of Current Can. Job	0	-1%	0	+1%	+1%	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	-1%	-1%	0	0	+1%	
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0	-5%	0	0	+5%	0
Participation Score	0	-5%	0	+5%	+5%	-5%
Is Naturalized	0	-5%	0	0	+5%	-5%

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; 0 = no significant relationship.

The data indicate that visiting and/or homework are more characteristic of those living in the Italian community, those not having close non-Italian friends, those having close relationships with relatives, those who have lived for a long time in Canada, those who are not members of families in which there is intermarriage, those who do not read English or Italian newspapers, those who have low Canadian social class positions, as indicated by all three indices, and those who have not been naturalized. Without exception, reading and/or hobbies as leisure time activities are associated with the obverse of these indices, that is, with living in the non-Italian areas of the city, with having close non-Italian friends, with not having close relationships with relatives, etc. Frequent viewing of television was associated with living in the Italian community, with not reading Italian newspapers, and with not being upwardly mobile in comparison with the father.

It is clear that reading and hobbies, the more individualistic activities, are more frequently associated with the pattern of respondent characteristics also associated with indices of good adjustment, and integration. By contrast the more relationship oriented activities, visiting and working around the home, are associated with the pattern of respondent characteristics which was also found to be associated with poor adjustment and poor integration. The only exception is the association of lengthy Canadian residence with relationship-type activities. These data are thus in accord with the pattern of the data described in the previous two sections in suggesting a drift away from identification with relationship-type values with increasingly successful adaptation to Canadian society. Frequency of viewing television does not

appear to be related to adaptation.

7.16. The Criteria in Choice of a House Index: Pre-Migration Variables. The three most frequently cited criteria for choice of a house--considerations involving price, considerations involving people (relatives, friends, other Italians), and considerations of access to facilities--clearly involve economic values, relationship values, and efficiency values. The relationships between these value indices and the pre-migration variables are found in Table XII. Considerations involving price were more often mentioned by women, by married subjects, those from Northern and from rural areas of Italy, those with little education, and those who have high neuroticism and dogmatism scores. With the exception of the association with Northerners, this pattern is composed of characteristics of the less well adapted members of the sample.

Considerations involving people were more often mentioned by women, by those from rural and Southern areas of Italy, and by those with high chauvinism and low neuroticism scores. With the exception of the last one, this pattern is also composed of characteristics of the less well adapted members of the sample. Considerations involving access to facilities were mentioned first more often by well educated subjects with low chauvinism and low dogmatism scores. These are characteristics of the better adapted members of the sample.

7.17. Post-Migration Variables. The relationships between the criteria in choice of a house and the post-migration variables are found in Table XIII. Considerations involving price were more often mentioned first by those living in the Italian community, those having no close non-Italian friends, and not having close relationships with relatives in Edmonton, those reading

appear to be related to adaptation.

7.18. Criteria in Choice of a House. The three most frequently cited criteria for choice of a house, considerations involving price, considerations involving people (relatives, friends, other Italians), and considerations of access to facilities, clearly involve economic values, relationships values, and efficiency values. The relationships between these value indices and the pre-migration variables are found in Table XII. Considerations involving price were more often mentioned by women, by married subjects, those from Northern and from rural areas of Italy, those with little education, and those who have high neuroticism and dogmatism scores. With the exception of the association with Northerners, this pattern is composed of characteristics of the less well adapted members of the sample.

Considerations involving people were more often mentioned by women, by those from rural and Southern areas of Italy, and by those with high chauvinism and low neuroticism scores. With the exception of the last one, this pattern is also composed of characteristics of the less well adapted members of the sample. Considerations involving access to facilities were mentioned first more often by well educated subjects with low chauvinism and low dogmatism scores. These are characteristics of the better adapted members of the sample.

The relationships between the criteria in choice of a house and the post-migration variables are found in Table XIII. Considerations involving price were more often mentioned first by those living in the Italian community, those having no close non-Italian friends, and not having close relationships with relatives in Edmonton, those reading

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRITERIA TO BUY A HOUSE INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Relationship of Indices to Criteria		Price	People	Facilities
		+	+	+
Pre-Migration Variables				
Demographic				
Age		0	0	0
Sex	Women	+1%	Women 1% Relatives + Other It. -	0
Marital Status	Married	+2%	0	0
Ecological				
Rural-Urban Origins	Urban	-1%	-1%	0
North-South Origins	North	+1%	North -1% Central	+1%
Social Class				
Education		-5%		+5%
Occupation of Father		0	0	0
Man's last Igal. Occup.		0	0	0
Personality				
Freq. of Church Atten.		0	0	0
Chauvinism		0	+1%	-1%
Neuroticism		+5%	-5%	0
Dogmatism		0	0	0
Alienation		0	0	0

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant; 0 = no significant relationship.

TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRITERIA TO BUY A HOUSE INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Price	People	Facilities
Relationship of Indices to Criteria	+	+	+
Post-Migration Variables			
Ecological			
Lives in Italian Community	+1%	+1%	-1%
Interpersonal Interaction			
Non-Italian Friends	-.1%	-.1%	+1%
mRelatives in Edmonton	-1%	+1%	0
Close Italian Relations	-2%	+2%	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	0	0	0
Cultural Exposure			
Duration of Canadian Residence	0	0	0
Reads Italian papers	-2%	+2%	0
Reads English papers	-2%	-2%	+2%
Reads Italian/English Magazines	Eng	-1%	Eng +1%
Freq. Watching TV	0	0	0
Sources of Information			
Radio	0	0	0
People	+5%	0	-5%
School	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0
Number of Sources of Information	+1%	-.1%	0
Social Class			
Level of 1st Canadian job	-5%	+5%	+5%
Level of Current Can. Job	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w last Italian Job	0	0	0
Participation Score	0	0	0
Is Naturalized	-1%	0	+1%

^a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

neither English nor Italian papers, who do not watch television, who have many sources of information, including people, by those whose first Canadian job was of a low level, and by those who were not naturalized. This pattern of characteristics is in close accord with the pattern of those less well adapted to Canadian society, as seen in earlier chapters.

Considerations for house buying involving people were more often mentioned first by those living in the Italian community, those having no non-Italian close friends, those having close relationships with their relatives in Edmonton, those who do not read English publications, but those who do read Italian newspapers, those having few sources of information, those who have not been upwardly mobile in comparison with their last Italian occupation, and those who currently have a low level occupation. Again the pattern of characteristics reflected here is similar to that of those sample members who are less well adapted to Canadian society.

Considerations for house buying involving convenient access to community facilities--school, work, shopping, etc.--were more often mentioned first by those members of the sample living outside of the Italian community, those having close non-Italian friends, who have lived for a long time in Canada, who read English publications, who watch television frequently, who cited people as a source of important information, who have been upwardly mobile in comparison with their last Italian occupation, and who have been naturalized. Most of the characteristics in this list are similar to the list of characteristics of those whom we have seen in previous chapters are well adapted to Canadian society.

It is rather clear, then, that mention of considerations involving

price and people for buying houses is more characteristic of subjects having the characteristics of the less well adapted, and as they become better adapted they tend to shift their reasons so as to give more prominence to considerations of community facilities. The pre-occupation ^{with} price of the poorer, less well adapted respondent, is understandable. His preoccupation with proximity to friends, relatives, and other Italians in choice of a house is reflective of his identification with relationship values which we have seen earlier. And the shifting bases of choice, from relationships to access to facilities is again reflective of the change from relationship to instrumental values which we have noted above.

In summary, then, we have presented evidence from material requiring the subject to make two choices between verbally presented value alternatives, from material on leisure time activities and on criteria in the purchase of a house and we find that the evidence does converge. From the first set of value choices we found indices of accommodation are associated with decreasing identification with family, religious and to a lesser extent, with personal honor values, and an increasing identification with instrumental (skill) and popularity values. From the second set of value choices we found a progression from first choice of "being well liked" by those least accommodated through "independence," to being "successful" which choice is associated only with characteristics of well accommodated subjects. This shift may be seen as one from a social, collective emphasis to a more materialistic individualistic emphasis. From the data on leisure time activities we found that relationship oriented activities were more characteristic of the less well

accommodated members of the study sample, whereas those of the better adapted members were more individualistic. And finally, the data on criteria used by sample members shows that choices determined by price and relationships considerations are more characteristic of the less well accommodated, whereas choices determined by convenience (instrumental) considerations are more characteristic of better accommodated subjects.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have considered a variety of data dealing with the attitudes and values of the Italians who were interviewed. One set dealt with continued identification with the Italian culture. Here our data suggests the existence of two different patterns. Chauvinism is characteristic of those from Southern Italy, from lower class backgrounds, who show the higher personal maladjustment scores characteristic of such subjects. They develop a distinctive pattern of adaptation in Edmonton which involves living in the Italian community, often with relatives, having close relationships with Italian friends and relatives, and little contact with non-Italian people or publications. Their chauvinism appears to be little changed by the influences of the Canadian scene in which they find themselves. Those from a contrasting Italian background have lower chauvinism scores and they appear to be much more open to Canadian cultural influences. They more often live in the non-Italian areas of the city, have non-Italian close friends and relatives, read English publications, etc.

A second set of data included items on ideal number of children, dominance in child rearing, aspirations for children and realism of those aspirations. The pattern of significant associations of these

indices with the independent variables was similar to that just described. Those wishing for many children and high in dominance toward children are more often from lower class and farming backgrounds in Southern and rural areas of Italy. They settle in the Italian community, have close relationships with Italian friends and relatives, and little contact with non-Italian friends or publications. Although their aspirations for their children are lower than those of contrasting Italians they are still unrealistically high. Italians from higher class backgrounds in Northern and urban areas of Italy wish for fewer children, are less dominant toward them, and although their aspirations for their children are high they are more frequently realistic than are the aspirations of the Southern Italians. These people usually show considerable accommodation to the Canadian society in terms of area of residence, friendships, intermarriage, and reading habits. They more often have higher level occupations.

The two items dealing with the value identifications of subjects (choice between "family relationships," "religious activities," "being highly skilled," "being just and honest," etc., and between "successful," "independent," and "being well liked") showed the following pattern consistent with the above findings. Italians from lower class Southern rural Italian backgrounds who show little accommodation to Canadian society have a value hierarchy which places family relationship and religious values first, respect and popularity values second, and materialism values third. Northern Italians from backgrounds which facilitate accommodation to Canadian society show a strong tendency toward reversing this value hierarchy with increasing acculturation.

Success values tend to become increasingly important and popularity, religious, and family values tend to become less important.

The data on leisure time activities and on criteria in buying a house are similar in their implications. Visiting and working around the home as leisure time activities, and house-buying criteria involving people were most often mentioned by subjects from Southern peasant backgrounds who show little accommodation to Canada. The more individualistic leisure time activities such as reading and hobbies, and house buying criteria involving facilities were more often mentioned by subjects from higher class and Northern Italian backgrounds who show considerable accommodation to Canada.

The pattern which has emerged from the data considered in this chapter may be summarized as follows. Acculturation appears to be largely a unidimensional concept involving a shift away from relationship, religious, social, and to a lesser extent, personal respect and honor values, to more instrumental popularity, materialistic and individualistic values. Those who are more exclusively identified with the former values are more frequently those from Southern Italian peasant backgrounds who show less accommodation to Canadian society in terms of most of the indices used in this study. Those more identified with the latter values are more frequently those from higher class Northern Italian backgrounds, who show more of accommodation to Canadian society. How much of this difference is due to the acquisition of different value identifications in Italy by the Northerners and the Southerners, and how much is the result of learning since their arrival in Canada cannot be determined with the data at our disposal. It seems probable that the higher class Northern Italians arrived in this country

with a more materialistic orientation than the Southern peasant background subjects which probably facilitated more rapid value change on their part. The shift which we have described is in accord with what we know of the cultural situation from which most of the members of our sample came, and it is in accord with the cultural situation to which they are adapting in Edmonton.

CHAPTER VIII

ASSIMILATIVE TENDENCIES AMONG ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

We have noted in the previous two chapters that integration refers to the interpenetration of the immigrant and the non-immigrant communities, in which the self-segregating tendencies of the immigrant and the excluding tendencies of the dominant host community cease to exist. Acculturation we defined as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." In the present study we are, of course,^{also} concerned with the changes in Italian cultural patterns.

Assimilation has been defined by Rose as "The adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture. Or the process leading to this adoption."¹

¹Arnold M. Rose, *Sociology: the study of human relations*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 557-558.

This definition identifies adequately the subject matter of the present chapter: tendencies toward the loss of Italian identity involving the repudiation of Italian ways, patterns, and identifications, and attempts at closer identification with Canadians as in close friendships and intermarriage. Assimilation is thus to be distinguished from both integration and acculturation in that while in both of these there is

the erosion of interactional or structural and cultural differences between the immigrant group and the dominant group there is no repudiation of identity as such. The differences tend to disappear without being actively repudiated because they symbolize ethnicity, and by destroying the differences the ethnic identity itself may, in a sense, be destroyed.

There are, of course, difficulties in the implementation of this definition. Assimilative tendencies are in a sense merely the extreme ends of the integration and acculturation continua. The differences in interaction and employment, etc., and in attitude and belief patterns between immigrant group and dominant group disappear in both cases. It is the motivation for the disappearance which is the defining difference, and we did not have ways in our interview schedule for getting at subjects' motivations. Accordingly, all we can do in this chapter is to examine data which are reflective (1) of repudiation of Italian patterns, and (2) of high levels of interest in and/or progress toward close involvement with old stock Canadians. These tendencies may be thought of merely as tendencies toward more rapid or extreme acculturation and integration. The question which we seek to answer in this chapter on assimilative tendencies is "what kinds of people in our sample show signs of losing themselves as Italians most rapidly in Canadian society?" In seeking an answer to this question we shall have occasion to refer again to some data which have been discussed in earlier chapters in this report. The relevant items are grouped under two sub-headings "Repudiation of Italian Ways" and "Interaction with Canadians". We shall again follow the pattern of first describing the data in terms of the distributions of responses to these items, and then analyzing the data in terms of its association with pre-migration and post-migration variables.

THE INDICES OF REPUDIATION OF ITALIAN WAYS

There are seven items in the questionnaire which may serve as indices of repudiation of Italian ways. Four of these relate directly to repudiation: a Rejection of Italianisms score, attitude toward changing one's name, the attitude that some Italian customs should be discarded, and feeling embarrassed at the way some Italians act. The item "Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?" would appear to be an obvious index of rejection of Italianism with Canadians, since it means repudiation of Italian citizenship. However, since four-fifths of the sample already are citizens (35%) or plan to be naturalized (45%) this is not a very discriminating item. Accordingly it was decided to treat the item as an index of disinterest in assimilation, attending to those who answered "no" or "not sure". This was one of three data related inversely to repudiation of Italian ways, that is which served to identify those who are strongly non-assimilationist. These are the Italian chauvinism score; rejection of naturalization, and the subject's indicating that had he to do it over again he would not have come to Canada in the first place. The distribution of responses to these items will be summarized briefly.

The rejection of Italianism score was obtained by summarizing the affirmative responses to five items such as "Do you think that there is a tendency for Italians to be more tight with their money than they should be?" "Have you ever felt embarrassed observing the way Italians behave, in general, in Edmonton?" The range of possible scores was from zero to five. The range of actual scores was from zero (2.5 per cent) to five (20.7 per cent). The mean score was 3.3 for the entire sample,

and just fifty per cent of the sample scored either four or five. Thus the scores and the assimilative tendencies as measured by these scores are rather high in the sample.

Two of the items included in the Rejection Scale were "Some Italian customs should no longer be practised because they delay the acceptance of Italians into Canadian society." and "Have you ever felt embarrassed observing the way Italians behave in general, in Edmonton?" On these items too, the rejection responses were rather high. Over two-thirds of the respondents, sixty-nine per cent, indicated that they felt some Italian customs should be discarded, and forty-five per cent stated that they had felt embarrassment at the way some Italians acted in Edmonton.

Perhaps the item which related most pointedly to rejection of Italian-ness per se was the one which asked "How do you feel about Italians who change their family names to English names?" Even here, more than one-third of the sample members expressed acceptance, saying that its a completely personal matter (30.5 per cent) or that it is justified if the person's success in work appears to depend upon it (5.7 per cent). It seems apparent from all of these data that willingness to reject Italianism is rather widespread among members of the study sample.

Three sets of data were used to index strong identification with the Italian identity: the Italian chauvinism score, the rejection of naturalization, and the feeling that if one had it to do over again he would not come to Canada. The chauvinism scale consists of nine items such as "Are you interested in building a 'little Italy' in Edmonton?" "Do you think the Italian Community could serve as a model

for Canadian neighbors?" "Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school, like a separate school?"

The range of possible scores was from zero to nine and the range of actual scores was from one (.7 per cent) to nine (1.7 per cent). The mean score was 6.0 and 42 per cent of the subjects scored 7 or higher, whereas only 14 per cent scored under five. Thus while the rejection scores ran high, the chauvinism scores tend to be high as well.

More strongly chauvinistic feelings were expressed by some in response to the questions "Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?" and "If you had it to do all over again, would you leave Italy?" In response to the first question, 8.5 per cent of the sample indicated that they did not plan to become naturalized, and another 12 per cent were not sure. In response to the second question, 20 per cent said that they would not leave Italy, and another 13 per cent said that they were not sure. Among those respondents the opposition to assimilation is clear.

THE INDICES OF INTERACTION WITH CANADIANS

Five items from the interview schedule are used here as indices of assimilative tendencies as indicated in interaction with Canadians: having Canadians among one's three closest friends, intermarriage with Canadians, either by oneself or by a sibling, attitude toward intermarriage, and changing churches either by oneself or another member of one's immediate family. We noted earlier that only one out of eight members of the sample, 51 subjects in all, numbered a Canadian among his three closest friends. Thirteen of these said that all three of their three closest friends were Canadian, and 16 said that two of the three were Canadian.

Only 25 subjects were married to non-Italians. Another 23 had siblings who were intermarried. Thus the incidence of intermarriage in the immediate families of the respondents was small, only about one in eight being affected. However three out of four of the respondents--75 per cent--had some relative who was intermarried, and acceptance of intermarriage was very frequently expressed by sample members. Three-fifths of the respondents said that intermarriage should not be discouraged.

Least frequent of all the interaction indices was the changing of churches. In only 13 cases had any members of the respondent's family changed churches, and in only seven cases did this involve ego or his siblings.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND REPUDIATION OF ITALIAN WAYS

The relationships between the pre-migration variables and repudiation of Italian ways are presented in summary form in Table I. The data suggest that it is the pre-migration social status indices which are the most strongly related variables and the relationship is a direct one with higher status being associated with more repudiation. Sex and age are somewhat associated with men having higher rejection scores than older women, and young men lower chauvinism scores than the remainder of the sample. The suggestion that Italian customs should be discarded is accepted by higher Italian status subjects according to all three indices and rejected by those with high chauvinism scores. Embarrassment at the behavior of other Italians is admitted to more frequently, not only by higher Italian status subjects, but also by younger women in contrast to older women, by those who are single, from the Northern part of Italy,

TABLE I

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDICES OF REPUDIATION AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH
INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP* AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Pre-Migration Variables: Reject Italianism		Change Name	Discard Customs	Embarrassed by Italians	Italian Chauvinism	Rejects Naturalization	Would Migrate here again
Relationship of Indices to Repudiation		+	+	+	-	-	-
Demographic							
Age							
Sex							
Marital Status							
Ecological							
Rural-Urban Origins							
North-South Origins							
Social Class							
Education							
Occupation of Father							
Man's last Ital. Occup.							
Personality							
Freq. of Church Att.							
Chauvinism							
Neuroticism							
Dogmatism							
Alienation							

* + = positive relationship
 - = negative relationship
 † = curvilinear relationship
 R = redundant
 O = no relationship

who have higher neuroticism scores and higher alienation scores. acceptance of changing surnames to an English surname was more frequently expressed by young men, by those from the northern areas of Italy, by those of higher Italian social status according to all three indices, and by those having low chauvinism and neuroticism scores.

Turning to the indices of opposition to assimilation, we find that high chauvinism is least characteristic of young men, of those who are single, of those from the north, of those from well educated and good occupational Italian backgrounds, and of those with low neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores. The response-- "I would not again migrate to Canada."--was least characteristic of those from rural, and southern areas of Italy, and those with low dogmatism and alienation scores. Not planning to become a naturalized citizen was least characteristic of men and of those from higher status Italian backgrounds.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND INDICES OF INTERACTION WITH CANADIANS

The relationships between the pre-migration variables and interaction with Canadians are found in Table II. The data show that having non-Italian close friends is characteristic of young men from Northern Italy, who have low chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and high alienation scores. Being intermarried is characteristic of young men from Northern Italy, who received a good education and held good positions in Italy, and who have low chauvinism scores. The pattern of associations of those who come from families in which there is intermarriage is generally the same. The pattern of those who believe that intermarriage should not be discouraged is the same again, except that this is associated with low

TABLE II

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDICES OF INTERACTION WITH CANADIANS
AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE
OF THE RELATIONSHIP* AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Pre-Migration Variables:	Non Ital. Close Friends	Ego Intermarried	Ego-Siblings Intermarried	Opposes Inter- marriage	Change Church
Relationship of Indices to Interaction	+	+	+	-	+
Demographic					
Age	Men - 1%	men - 5%	young men + 1% old women - 1%	men - 1%	0
Sex	0	0	men + 1%	0	0
Marital Status	Mar. - 5%	0	0	0	Mar - 5%
Ecological					
Rural-Urban Origins	0	0	0	0	Urban + 5%
North-South Origins	No. + 5%	No. + 1%	No. ± 1%	No. - 5%	0
Social Class					
Education	+ .1%	+ 1%	+ 1%	- 1%	+ 1%
Occupation of Father		0	+ 5%	0	+ 2%
Man's last Ital. Occup	0	+ 5%	0	- 1%	0
Personality					
Freq. of Church Att.	0	0	0	0	0
Chauvinism	- .1%	- .1%	- 2%	+ 2%	- .1%
Neuroticism	- 5%	0	- 5%	+ .1%	0
Dogmatism	- 5%	0	0	0	0
Alienation	+ 5%	0	± 5%	+ 5%	0

- * + = positive relationship
 - = negative relationship
 ± = curvilinear relationship
 R = redundant
 0 = no relationship

neuroticism and low alienation scores as well. Changing of church membership, by ego and/or other members of his family, is characteristic of single subjects, whose fathers have higher occupational positions and received a good education in Italy, and who have low chauvinism scores.

In summary it is apparent that the pre-migration independent variables most closely associated with the assimilation indices, including both the repudiation of Italian ways and the interaction with Canadian indices, are the Italian social status indices. In general, then, we can say that assimilative tendencies are most characteristic of young men from Northern, urban, areas of Italy, from higher class backgrounds, who have low neuroticism, dogmatism, and chauvinism scores. The fact that several of the criterion indices were associated with high alienation scores is probably an indication that more assimilation oriented subjects do at times feel more cut off from both their Italian compatriots whom they to some extent repudiate, and from the Canadians whose ranks they want to join, but in certain ways have clearly not succeeded in joining.

THE POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND REJECTION OF ITALIAN WAYS

The relationships between the post-migration variables and rejection of Italian ways are found in Table III. The data show that living in the Italian community is associated with non-assimilation as indicated by high chauvinism scores, and by refusal to become naturalized. Close relationships with relatives are associated with non-assimilationist responses, and having close non-Italian friends is associated with rejection of Italian ways, and with disagreeing responses to the assimilation rejecting items. Intermarriage is consistently directly associated with the rejection variables.

TABLE III

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF REPUTATION OF ITALIANISM AND POST-MIGRATION
VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP* AND
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Post-Migration Variables: Relationship of Indices to Repudiation	Reject Italianism	Change Name	Discard Customs	Embarrassed by Italians	Italian Chauvinism	Rejects Naturalization	Would Migrate here again
Ecological							
Lives in Ital. Commun.	0	0	0	0	- 5%	+ 1%	+ 5%
Interpersonal Interaction							
Non-Italian Friends	+ 1%	0	- 5%	- 2%	- 1%	- .1%	- 1%
Relatives in Edmonton	- 5%	0	0	- 1%	+ 5%	- 2%	+ 2%
Close Italian Relations	0	0	0	- 5%	- 5%	- 1%	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	+ 1%	+ .1%	+ 1%	+ 5%	- 5%	- .1%	0
Cultural Exposure							
Duration of Can. Resid.	0	0	+ 5%	0	0	- .1%	+ 5%
Reads Ital. Papers	+ 1%	0	+ 5%	+ 2%	0	- .1%	0
Reads Eng. Papers	+ .1%	+ 5%	+ 1%	+ .1%	- .1%	- .1%	- 5%
Reads It./Eng. Magazines	Eng. + .1%	0	Eng. + .1%	Eng. + .1%	Eng. + .1%	Eng. - .1%	0
Freq. Watching T.V.	- 5%	0	0	0	0	+ 5%	0
Sources of Information							
Radio	0	0	0	+ 5%	0	- 5%	0
People	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	- 1%	0	- .1%	0
Number of Sources of Inf.	0	+ .1%	0	0	0	- .1%	0
Social Class							
Level of 1st Canad. Job	0	0	0	0	- 2%	- 5%	- 2%
Level of Current Canad. Job	+ 2%	+ 2%	+ 1%	+ 2%	- 1%	- 5%	- 1%
Mobility Comp. w Father	0	0	0	0	- 5%	0	- 1%
Mobility Comp. w last It. Job	0	- 5%	0	0	0	- 5%	- .1%
Participation Score	+ .1%	+ 2%	+ .1%	+ 1%	0	- 1%	+ 5%
Is Naturalized	0	0	0	+ .1%	0	R	+ 5%

*+ = positive relationship

- = negative relationship

± = curvilinear relationship

R = redundant

0 = no relation-

ship

Turning to the cultural exposure variables, length of Canadian residence is associated with four of the eight criterion variables. It is not associated with the rejection score, with feeling embarrassed at the behavior of other Italians, or with attitude toward changing one's name. Thus, while length of Canadian residence appears to be associated with favorable attitudes toward living in Canada, it is apparently not associated with rejection of Italianisms.

Reading English publications is consistently associated with all of the criterion variables, and reading Italian papers is associated with high rejection scores and agreeing that certain Italian customs should be discarded, and that the way some Italians act is a source of embarrassment. Number of sources of information, and citing radio and church as sources of information are all inversely associated with planning not to be naturalized.

Of the Canadian social class indices, the man's current occupational level is directly associated with all of the assimilation indices. Level of the first position in Canada, and mobility compared with the father's occupation are inversely associated with chauvinism, rejection of naturalization, and the feeling that one would again migrate to Canada. Of the various rejection indices naturalization is associated only with the tendency to be embarrassed at the behavior of some Italians and with an interest in again migrating if the respondent had it to do over again. This appears to indicate that being naturalized, like residing in Canada for a long period of time, is associated with favorable attitudes toward things Canadian, but

is not associated with rejection of Italian ways. The table shows, however, that high participation scores are directly associated with all of the rejection indices and inversely associated with rejection of naturalization. Apparently Italians can become naturalized without being emancipated from their pro-Italianism, but if they participate very extensively in Canadian society, and so come in close contact with Canadian attitudes toward foreignness, perhaps, they tend to become distinctly rejecting of Italianism.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND INDICES OF INTERACTION WITH CANADIANS

The relationships between the post-migration variables and interaction with Canadians are also found in Table IV. The data show that living in the non-Italian community is consistently associated with high interaction with Canadians, on four of the five indices. Having close relationships with relatives is inversely associated with interaction with Canadians, and having close non-Italian friends is associated with other interaction indices.

If we turn to the cultural exposure variables we find that length of Canadian residence is directly associated with all five of the interaction indices. Similarly, reading English newspapers is associated with all five of the criterion indices. Reading Italian newspapers is associated only with intermarriage within the family, and here the relationship is a direct one. Having many sources of information is directly associated with four out of five of the criterion indices, and citing the radio as a source of information is directly associated with intermarriage within the family and with having close non-Italian friends.

TABLE IV.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDICES OF INTERACTION WITH CANADIANS AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES
WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP* AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Post-Migration Variables:	Have Non Ital.		Ego-Siblings		Opposes Intermarriage		Change Church	
	Close Friends	Intermarry	Intermarry	Intermarry	Intermarry	Intermarry	Intermarry	Intermarry
Relationship of Indices to Interaction	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Ecological								
Live in Ital. Commun.	- 1%	- 5%	- 5%	- 5%	0	- 5%	- 5%	- 5%
Interpersonal Interaction								
Non-Italian Friends	R	- .1%	- .1%	- 5%	- .1%	- 2%	- 2%	- 2%
Relatives in Edmonton	- 2%	- 1%	- 1%	- 5%	0	0	0	0
Close Italian Relations	- 2%	- 1%	- 1%	0	0	0	0	0
Ego-Sib. Intermarriage	+ 5%	R	R	R	0	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%
Cultural Exposure								
Duration of Can. Resid.	+ .1%	+ 5%	+ 5%	+ .1%	- 2%	+ 1%	+ 1%	+ 1%
Reads Ital. Papers	0	0	+ 5%	+ .1%	0	0	0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%	- .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%
Reads It./Eng. Magazines	+ .1%	Ital. - 1%	Eng. + .1%	Eng. + .1%	Eng. - 1%	Eng. + 1%	Eng. + 1%	Eng. + 1%
Freq. Watching T.V.	- 5%	Eng. + 1%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information								
Radio	+ 5%	0	- 5%	- 5%	0	0	0	0
People	- 5%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	- 5%	- 5%	0	0	0	0
Number of Sources of Inf.	+ 5%	0	+ 1%	+ 1%	0	0	0	0
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job	+ 1%	0	0	0	0	+ 5%	+ 5%	+ 5%
Level of Current Canad. Job	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ .1%	0	+ 1%	+ 1%	+ 1%
Mobility Comp. w Father	+ 1%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mobility Comp. w last It. Job	+ 5%	+ 5%	+ 1%	+ 1%	0	0	0	0
Participation Score	+ 1%	- 5%	+ 1%	+ 1%	- 1%	+ 1%	+ 1%	+ 1%
Is Naturalized	+ .1%	+ 5%	+ .1%	+ .1%	+ 1%	0	0	0

* + = positive relationship - = negative relationship + = curvilinear relationship R = redundant
0 = no relationship

Of the variables indexing social class in Canada, the husband's occupational level is directly associated with four out of five of the criterion indices, excepting only the discouragement of intermarriage items. The man's occupational mobility compared with his father's occupation is directly associated with three of the criterion indices, intermarriage of the respondent, intermarriage in the respondent's family, and having close non-Italian friends.

Naturalization is directly associated with four of the criterion variables, excepting only ego and/or family have changed church.

In summary, the post-migration variables most closely related to the rejection-of-Italian-ways, and the interaction-with-Canadians assimilation variables are reading English publications, current occupational status of the man, and close friendships with non-Italians, all directly related to the criteria. 'Relatives in Edmonton, is inversely related to the criteria. Intermarriage within ego's family is associated directly with seven of the eight rejection of Italian ways variables. Length of Canadian residence, being naturalized, and living in the non-Italian community, are more closely associated with the interaction with Canadians variables than they are with the rejection of Italian ways variables. This again suggests that mere duration of residence in Canada does not necessarily result in rejecting attitudes.

The three social class indices not already cited--level of the man's first job in Canada, his mobility compared with that of his father, and his mobility compared with his last Italian position--are all related to three or more of the rejection of Italian ways variables and to smaller

numbers of the interaction with Canadians variables. This suggests that upward mobility is more associated with assimilation in the sense of a snobbish and perhaps defensive rejection of Italian ways than it is with more frequent interaction with Canadians. This pattern is reversed, on the other hand, with number of sources of information which is more frequently associated with the interaction with Canadians variables. Close primary relationships with Italians is more closely inversely associated with rejection of Italian ways than it is with interaction with Canadians suggesting that it provides more opposition to the former than it does to the latter. Reading of Italian papers is also associated with rejection of Italian ways. The remaining independent variables are but slightly associated with the criterion variables.

In conclusion, it is clear that lengthy residence in Canada, reading English publications, having close non-Italian friends, having achieved a higher occupational position in Canada, being naturalized, living in the non-Italian community, and having many sources of information are associated with integration with Canadians. Reading English publications, having achieved a higher occupational position in Canada, having close non-Italian friends, intermarriage within the respondent's family, and few relatives in Edmonton, are all associated strongly with rejection of Italian ways. Lengthy residence in Canada, upward occupational mobility, reading Italian papers, being naturalized and living outside of the Italian community are also associated with rejection of Italian ways, though less consistently.

CHAPTER IX

SEX DIFFERENCES IN INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND INDICES OF ACCOMMODATION

We have now finished our analysis of the interrelationships between the independent variables and the indices of accommodation to Canadian society among the Italian immigrants of our sample. In the analysis to date we have not differentiated the sample in any way. There are a number of questions which may occur to the reader about how the accommodation process may work for various components of the sample. On the basis of some preliminary investigations, it does not appear that there are significant differences in the adjustment-integrative process between younger and older subjects (given the fact that the age range of the immigrants is a restricted one) or between those who have been in Canada a short period, in contrast to those who have been here a longer time. However there is reason to expect differences in this process between Italian men and Italian women, because of the striking differences in sex roles which exist between them, because of their differences in English language facility, etc. These differences will be described and discussed in the present chapter.

The calculation of associations between independent variables and dependent variables for men only and for women only would have involved production on the computer of about 6100 tables and calculation of an equal number of chi squares if the same list of independent and dependent variables used in the analysis thus far was used again without modification. Such a detailed analysis seemed unjustifiable, not only

because of the time and expense but also because of a number of both the dependent and the independent variables had proved to be unfruitful in terms of their infrequent significant relationships with other variables. Accordingly, the list of 34 independent variables was cut by seven leaving 27, and the list of 90 dependent variables was cut by 32 leaving 58. The lists of variables which were used, by category, are found in Tables I and II.

In this chapter we shall proceed by following the same sequence of accommodative processes--adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc.---as was followed in the preceding chapters, here discussing the sex differences which are found to exist in the relationships between the shortened lists of independent and dependent variables.

I. SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES

9.1 Economic Adjustment. A word of clarification is imperative if we are to understand just what sex differences in economic adjustment may mean. It is clear that the economic adjustment of the family is primarily the husband's responsibility, thus one might question whether an analysis of sex differences in economic adjustment is a meaningful conception, given the fact that we are dealing with a primarily married sample. However on further thought it becomes clear, (1) that among the members of our sample, women do contribute heavily, in terms of paid employment, to the family economic adjustment; and (2) that in view of the significance and the solidarity of the Italian family, the wife can significantly affect the economic adjustment or maladjustment of the family. Thus, the analysis is worth pursuing.

TABLE I

DEPENDENT VARIABLES DIFFERENTIATING MALE AND FEMALE RESPONSES
BY ANALYTIC CATEGORY

Dependent Variables

Adjustment

Economic

Income

Mobility comp. w. Father

Mobility comp. w. 1st Canad. Occ.

Mobility comp. w 1st Canad. Occ.

Personal

Anomic Score

Neurotic

Dogmatic

Alienation

Social

Number of close Personal Friends

Satisfaction

Experience Discrimination

Criticisms of Canada

Satisfactions with Canada

Thought of Return

Plan to Return

Would Again Migrate

Satisfaction Score

Integration

Ecological

Area of Residence

Non-Italian Community

Social

Relatives in Same Building

See Italian Friends

Attend Italian Functions

Total Italian Membership

See non-Italian Friends

Attend Non-Italian Functions

Close Non-Italian Friends

Total Association Membership

Political

Voted General Election

Voted Provincial Election

Voted Dominion Election

Provincial Politics Important

Municipal Politics Important

Economic

Buy Italian Store

Religious

Attend which Church

Linguistic

Language Spoken to Spouse

Language Spoken to Children

Language Children Spoken to each other.

Acculturation

Build Little Italy

Establish Italian Schools

Chauvinism

Ideal Number of Children

Child Dominance Scores

Aspirations for Self

Values

Independence

Well liked

Success

Criteria to Buy a House

People

Price

Facilities

Assimilation

Intermarry

Ego-Siblings Intermarry

Discourage intermarriage

Change Name

Non-Italian Church

Only Non-Italian Organizations

Reject Italianism

Discourage Italian Customs

Embarrassed by Italian Ways

Naturalization

TABLE II

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES DIFFERENTIATING MALE AND FEMALE RESPONSES

Pre-Migration Variables

North-South Origins

Social Class

Occupation Father

Education

Man's last Ital. Job

Personality

Freq. of Church Att.

Chauvinism

Neuroticism

Dogmatism

Alienation

Post-Migration Variables

Live Ital. Community

Interpers. Interaction

Non-Ital. Friends

Relatives in Edmonton

Close Ital. Relations

Ego Siblings Intermarry

Cultural Exposure

Duration Canad. Residence

Reads Ital. Papers

Reads English Papers

Read It./Eng. Magazines

Sources of Information

People

School

Church

No. of Sources of Inf.

Social Class

Level of 1st Canada. Job

Level of Current Canad. Job

Mobility comp. w. Father

Mobility comp. w. last It. Job

Naturalization

In this analysis four economic adjustment indices were tabulated against twenty-seven pre- and post-migration independent variables for the male and the female subsamples. The relevant data are found in Table III. Of the 216 possible significant associations (27 multiplied by four for each sex group) there were more significant associations for men than for women, the numbers being fifty-four and forty-one. In twenty-one cases the relationships were identical for men and for women. In five cases they were opposite relationships. For neuroticism and alienation scores, citing people as a source of important information, and a high level of first employment of the husband in Canada, there was a direct relationship with one economic adjustment index for women, but an inverse relationship for men. This relationship was reversed in the case of the relationship between reading English magazines and one economic adjustment index. What these relationships show is that in these five cases the possession of more peasant type characteristics is associated with economic adjustment for women whereas they are associated with economic maladjustment for men.

For only a few independent variables were there more significant relationships with the criterion indices for women than for men. Occupation of respondent's father was inversely associated with two economic adjustment indices for women, but not significantly related to any of the criterion indices for men. Having relatives in Edmonton was more often associated with economic adjustment for women, in a curvilinear fashion such that the better adjusted had both many and few relatives, than for men.

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECONOMIC
ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items = 4

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins	1	2		1					2	1
Social Class										
Occupation Father		2				2			0	2
Education	2			2					4	2
Man's last Ital. Job		2		2					2	0
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		1		2		1			2	1
Chauvinism		1		2				1	3	1
Neuroticism		1	1	1		1			2	2
Dogmatism	1	2				1			1	2
Alienation		1	1	1		1			2	2
Pre-Migration Total									18	13
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.		4							0	0
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	2			1		1			3	3
Relatives in Edmonton	2	1				1		1	3	4
Close Ital. Relations		1		2				1	3	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	1	2		1					2	2
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.	1			1		1			2	1
Reads Ital. Papers	1	3							1	1
Reads Eng. Papers	1			3					4	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	3		1						4	4
Sources of Information										
People		1	1	1		1			2	2
School		4							0	0
Church		2		2					2	0
No. of Sources of Info.		4							0	0
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job	1	1	1			1			2	3
Level of Current Canad. Job		4							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father	3	1							3	3
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job	2	1		1					3	2
Naturalization		2		1				1	2	1
Post-Migration Total									36	28
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									54	41

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

There were more significant relationships variables with the criterion indices for men than for women on a number of the independent variables. The most striking discrepancy between the significant relationships for men and women was that reading English papers was directly associated with all four indices of economic adjustment for men, and with only one for women. Education was directly related to economic adjustment twice as often for men as for women. Chauvinism scores were more frequently inversely associated with the criterion indices for men than for women, as was having close relationships with relatives. Checking church as a source of important information was inversely associated with the criterion indices for men but not for women.

In sum, the rather clear pattern which emerges from this mass of sex differentials is that emancipation from a peasant orientation or achievement of more sophistication--i.e., more reading of English papers, more education, less chauvinism, fewer relationships with relatives, and less dependence on the Church as a source of information--is more closely associated with good economic adjustment for men than it is for women. There is also some evidence that good economic adjustment is associated with emotional maladjustment for women.

9.2 Social Adjustment. The detailed analysis of sex differences included only one index of social adjustment, the number of close personal friends reported by the subject. Table IV shows that of the fifty-four possible significant relationships (twenty-seven each for men and for women) only twenty were in fact significant, seven for men

TABLE IV

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL
ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of Index items 1

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins		1					0	0
Social Class								
Occupation Father	1						1	1
Education		1					0	0
Man's last Ital. Job	1						1	1
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		1					0	0
Chauvinism		1					0	0
Neuroticism					1		0	1
Dogmatism		1					0	0
Alienation	1						1	1
Pre-Migration Total							3	4
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.		1					0	0
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends		1					0	0
Relatives in Edmonton		1					0	0
Close Ital. Relations				1			1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry			1				1	1
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.		1					0	0
Reads Ital. Papers		1					0	0
Reads Eng. Papers					1		0	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	1						1	1
Sources of Information								
People					1		0	1
School					1		0	1
Church					1		0	1
No. of Sources of Info.					1		0	1
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		1					0	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		1					0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father					1		0	1
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job				1			1	0
Naturalization					1		0	1
Post-Migration Total							4	9
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							7	13

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

and thirteen for women. Only four were identical for men and for women: a high occupational level of the father, a high occupational level of the man (respondent or husband of respondent) in Italy, reading of magazines and high alienation scores were all associated with reporting few friends. One independent variable was related to the criterion in opposite ways for men and women: intermarriage of self or siblings was inversely related to reporting many friends for men but directly associated with it for women.

For men there were only three other significant relationships. Having close relationships with relatives, no intermarriage of ego or his relatives, and being upwardly mobile in contrast with last occupation in Italy (which is more characteristic of those from lower class backgrounds). All are directly associated with reporting many friends. For women there are eight other significant relationships. Neuroticism scores and naturalization are inversely associated with reporting many friends while reading English papers, mentioning many sources of information, including people, school, and church, and having a husband who is upwardly mobile in comparison with the father, are all directly associated with reporting many friends.

The general pattern that emerges here is that reporting many friends is more characteristic of peasant background, less Canadianized Italian men who are from lower class backgrounds, and have close relationships with relatives and no intermarriage in their families. On the other hand reporting many friends seems characteristic of the more sophisticated or Canadianized Italian women; although they too are from lower class Italian backgrounds, have low neuroticism and alienation scores, read English newspapers, have many sources of

information, are from families in which there is intermarriage, and are married to upwardly mobile husbands. The inverse association of naturalization with number of reported friends for women suggests that Canadianization of Italian women is associated with reporting fewer friends.

9.3 Personal Adjustment. The detailed analysis of sex differences in personal adjustment made use of four indices of personal adjustment: anomie, alienation, neuroticism, and dogmatism, scores. It should be noted once again that these four variables have been treated both as independent, and as dependent variables, because the person's responses to the component items of these four scales are probably reflective of his early socialization in Italy, thus qualifying as independent variables; and of his response to the Canadian situation, thus qualifying as dependent variables. The data on sex differences in personal adjustment are found in Table V.

Of the 216 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the four adjustment indices, for men and for women) 102 were in fact significant, 49 for men and 53 for women. There are relatively few sex differences in correlates of personal adjustment. Sixty of the significant relationships were identical for men and women, that is, thirty of the relationships for the male sample were identical with thirty of those for the female sample. These identical relationships were strongest in the areas of personality variables and cultural exposure variables. All four of the relationships between chauvinism scores and the personality maladjustment indices were direct relationships, for both men and women. Neuroticism was directly associated with dogmatism

TABLE V

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONAL
ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 4

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Fem
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins	2	1		1					3	2
Social Class										
Occupation Father		1				3			0	3
Education		2		2					2	0
Man's last Ital. Job		4							0	0
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		2		2					2	0
Chauvinism	4								4	4
Neuroticism	1	2				1			1	2
Dogmatism	3	1							3	3
Alienation	3	1							3	3
Pre-Migration Total									18	17
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.	2	1				1			2	3
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	1			2		1			3	2
Relatives in Edmonton		1				1		2	2	3
Close Ital. Relations	1	2		1					2	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		1	1	1		1			2	2
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.	3					1			3	1
Reads Ital. Papers		2	1			1			1	2
Reads Eng. Papers	3					1			3	4
Read It/Eng Magazines	4								4	4
Sources of Information										
People		4							0	0
School		2		2					2	0
Church	1	2				1			1	2
No. of Sources of Info.	1	2				1			1	2
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		2		1		1			1	1
Level of Current Canad. Job		3		1					1	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father	1	2				1			1	2
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		1	1			2			1	3
Naturalization		2		1		1			1	1
Post-Migration Total									31	30
<u>Pre- and Post-Migration Total</u>										

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

for both men and women. Dogmatism was directly associated with anomic, alienation, and neuroticism for both men and women, and alienation was directly associated with anomie, neuroticism, and dogmatism, for both men and women.

Of the cultural exposure variables, length of resident in Canada is inversely associated with size of neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores for both men and women. The reading of English magazines is inversely associated with all four personality scores for both men and women, and the reading of English newspapers is inversely associated with size of scores for all four indices for women, and with all but alienation for the men. Of the ecological variables, Southern Italian origin is directly associated with neuroticism and alienation scores for men and women, and directly with dogmatism scores for men. Italian community residence in Edmonton is directly associated with dogmatism and alienation scores for men and women, and with neuroticism scores for women.

There were three independent variables which were significantly associated with the personal adjustment variables for men but not for women. These three were: (1) education was inversely associated with neuroticism and alienation, (2) frequency of church attendance was directly associated with dogmatism and inversely associated with alienation, and (3) mentioning the school as an important source of information was directly associated with anomie and inversely associated with neuroticism. Two independent variables were more frequently significantly associated with personality adjustment variables for women than for men. Occupation of father was inversely

associated with anomie, directly associated with alienation and related in a curvilinear fashion with neuroticism such that those whose fathers had the lowest and the highest positions had high neuroticism scores, for women, but unrelated to the criterion indices for men. The man's mobility compared with his last position in Italy was related directly to anomie, alienation, and neuroticism for women, but related inversely to anomie for men.

In sum, it is clear that the correlates of good personal adjustment are much more frequently the same for men and women than was true of economic and social adjustment. As far as the differences are concerned, it appears that independent variables reflective of higher social standing--i.e., level of education, upward mobility in comparison with the last Italian position--were more frequently associated with indications of personal adjustment for men whereas comparable independent variables for women presented a more confused picture of association with adjustment and maladjustment indicators. Thus there is evidence that indices of higher social standing are associated somewhat more with indications of adjustment for men, and somewhat more with indications of maladjustment for women.

II. SEX DIFFERENCES IN SATISFACTION WITH LIFE IN CANADA

The detailed analysis of sex difference in satisfaction with life in Canada made use of seven indices of satisfaction: the satisfaction score, the subject's experience of discrimination, his listing of satisfactions with Canada, whether he had thought of returning to Italy, whether he had planned to return to Italy,

and whether or not he would again migrate to Canada. The data for this section are found in Table VI. Of the 378 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the seven indices, for men and for women) 129 were actually significant, sixty-two for men and sixty-seven for women. Twenty-eight pairs of these significant relationships were identical for men and women. In four cases were the relationships between independent and criterion variables of opposite sign for men and for women. Three of these involved living in the Italian community and criterion variables: in all three cases women living in the Italian community were more dissatisfied with Canada, whereas it was men living outside of the Italian community who were more satisfied. Being naturalized was also directly associated with dissatisfaction indices for men whereas for women they were associated with satisfaction.

The data in Table IV show that the identical relationships for men and women are heavily concentrated in the areas of personal characteristics, having non-Italian friends, being naturalized, and reading English magazines. The relationships between independent and criterion variables which were not significant for either men or women are concentrated in the following areas: area of Italian origins, education, level of husband's employment in Italy, frequency of church attendance, frequency of association with Italians, intermarriage, reading English and Italian papers, sources of important information, and level of first employment, and of current employment, in Canada.

There are a number of sex differences in the correlates of satisfaction with the independent variables. Being from North Italy was associated with dissatisfaction on three indices for men, but

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SATIS-
FACTION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 7

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins		4		3			3	0
Social Class								
Occupation Father	1	2		1	2	1	3	4
Education	1	5			1		1	2
Man's last Ital. Job		4		3			3	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		4		1	2		1	2
Chauvinism	2	2		1	2		3	4
Neuroticism	2			2	3		4	5
Dogmatism	2	2			3		2	5
Alienation	5				2		5	7
Pre-Migration Total							25	29
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.		3	3	1			4	3
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	4	3					4	4
Relatives in Edmonton	1			4	2		5	3
Close Ital. Relations		4		2	1		2	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		5		2			2	0
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.	1	3			3		1	4
Reads Ital. Papers		5		1	1		1	2
Reads Eng. Papers		6		1			1	0
Read It/Eng Magazines	4			2	1		6	5
Sources of Information								
People		6			1		0	1
School		6			1		0	1
Church		6		1			1	0
No. of Sources of Info.		3			4		0	4
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		6		1			1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		6			1		0	1
Mobility Comp. w. Father	2	3			2		2	4
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		3		2	2		2	2
Naturalization	3	2	1	1			5	1
Post-Migration Total							37	36
<u>Pre- and Post-Migration Total</u>							62	65

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

with none for women. For men only, also, having held a higher status work position in Italy was associated with mentioning many criticisms of Canada, and with having planned to return to Italy, but also with mentioning many satisfactions with Canada. For both men and women, having relatives in Edmonton was associated with satisfaction with life in Canada, but with men it was associated with five satisfaction indices; whereas with women it was associated with three. For men only, intermarriage of self or siblings was directly associated with two indices of dissatisfaction.

There were more significant relationships between the independent and the criterion variables for women than men in a number of cases: Dogmatism was directly associated with dissatisfaction on five of the indices for women but only two for men, and lengthy residence in Canada was associated with satisfaction on four indices for women, but only one for men. Having many sources of information was associated with satisfaction as indicated by four indices for women, whereas there were no significant relationships for men. Alienation is directly associated with dissatisfaction for both men and women, but for men it is associated with five indices. For women it is associated with all seven indices. Women of upwardly mobile husbands are like their husbands in indicating dissatisfaction on two indices disproportionately frequently, but wives of downwardly mobile husbands mentioned more criticisms of Canada. The relationship between this independent variable and the criterion indices is curvilinear in one case for women. Wives of upwardly and of downwardly mobile husbands more frequently had planned to return to Italy.

A rather clear pattern of differences in characteristics of satisfied male and female Italian immigrants emerges from the previous paragraphs. For both men and women reading English magazines is rather consistently associated with dissatisfaction and having close non-Italian friends and being naturalized is associated with satisfaction. But satisfied Italian men are from Southern Italy where they usually had low level employment. They have close relationships with their relatives and are not from families in which there is intermarriage. They have low dogmatism and alienation scores. Satisfied Italian women, by contrast, appear to be much better integrated into Canadian society, in that they have been in Canada for a long period of time, have many sources of information, as well as having relatives in Edmonton, and having low dogmatism and alienation scores. It appears from this that in a number of respects it is the less easily integrated, more peasant oriented, men who are more satisfied with Canada, whereas with women it is the more integrated who are more satisfied. These apparently contradictory findings are easily accounted for by the concept of relative deprivation which points out that satisfaction or dissatisfaction is not absolute, but is always relative to one's previous experience or to some reference group with which one compares oneself. Accordingly, men from lower class Southern Italian backgrounds find here economic opportunities far more rich than those they left behind and if they are sufficiently closely knit into a community of other Italians they find their lives improved over the life they left behind. The wives of these men, however,

usually experience no improvement in their status, their contacts and opportunities. In fact they often experience less satisfaction since their social contacts are cut down because of their poor command of English, and the scattering of the Italian community. Thus the women who express satisfaction with life in Canada are those who are themselves sufficiently acculturated, and who are from sufficiently egalitarian and acculturated homes to enjoy the greater freedom and opportunities thus made available to them. The men from these same homes, however, tend to experience fewer improvements in their social standing and more of frustrations, in contrast to their experience in Italy, and thus are more critical and dissatisfied with life in Canada.

III. SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESSES

9.4 Ecological Integration. The detailed analysis of sex differences in correlates of ecological integration made use of two indices of ecological integration: area of residence, and the geographical mobility wishes of the respondent. Of the 112 possible significant relationships (28 for each of the two ecological integration indices, for men and for women) 41 were actually significant, 20 for men and 21 for women. The data in Table VII show that there are no sex differences in correlates of ecological integration worthy of discussion. Twenty of the forty-one significant relationships were identical for men and women. These identical relationships were strongest in the area of personal variables: chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism and alienation scores were all directly associated with living in the Italian community, and chauvinism and alienation were

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION
INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 2

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins		1		1					1	0
Social Class										
Occupation Father		1				1			0	1
Education	1	1							1	1
Man's last Ital. Job				1		1			1	1
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		2							0	0
Chauvinism	2								2	2
Neuroticism	1	1							1	1
Dogmatism	1					1			1	2
Alienation	2								2	2
Pre-Migration Total									9	10
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.		1				1			0	1
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	1			1					2	
Relatives in Edmonton			1	1		1			1	1
Close Ital. Relations				1					2	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		1		1					1	0
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.		1				1			0	1
Reads Ital. Papers		1							0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	1	1							1	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	1	1							1	1
Sources of Information										
People		2							0	0
School		1				1			0	1
Church		1				1			0	1
No. of Sources of Info.		1				1			0	1
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		1		1					1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		2							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1		1					1	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		2							0	0
Naturalization		1						1	1	1
Post-Migration Total									11	11
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									20	21

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

inversely associated with planning to leave the Italian community, for both men and women. The reading of English newspapers and magazines, having close non-Italian friends and level of education were also inversely associated with living in the Italian community. The other spotty sex differences in correlates of ecological integration add up to no consistent pattern at all.

The generalization thus suggested by the pattern of relationships in Table V is that the antecedents and the consequences of living in the Italian community are generally the same for Italian men and women. This is particularly true in the relationships between personality characteristics and the criterion indices. It is remarkable that there are no sex differences in the correlates of geographical mobility wishes but this is perhaps due to the fact that the number of those wishing to move was so small.

9.5 Social Integration. The analysis of sex differences in correlates of social integration made use of eight indices of social integration:

1. Sharing a residence with relatives;
2. Frequency of seeing Italian friends;
3. Attendance at Italian social functions;
4. Total Italian associational memberships;
5. Having close non-Italian friends;
6. Frequency of seeing non-Italian friends;
7. Attendance at non-Italian social functions; and
8. Total associational memberships

Because some of these items refer to social integration with other Italians and some refer to social integration with non-Italians, and

because these would seem to be two rather strikingly different types of integration, making different demands and offering different kinds of satisfaction to Italian immigrants--they are treated separately.

9.6 Italian Social Integration. The analysis of sex differences in correlates of integration with Italians made use of four index items: sharing a residence with relatives, frequency of seeing Italian friends, attendance at Italian social functions, and membership in Italian associations. Of the 216 possible significant relationships, (27 for each of the four indices, for men and for women) 101 were in fact significant, 52 for men and 49 for women. Twenty-four pairs of these significant relationships were identical for men and women. In only two cases were the relationships of opposite sign for men and women: being from the northern part of Italy is directly associated with frequency of seeing Italian friends for men, but inversely associated with it for women. Mentioning the church as a source of important information is directly associated with attendance at Italian social functions for men, and again inversely associated with it for women.

The data in Table VIII show that the identical relationships for men and women are heavily concentrated in the area of Italian social class indicators, level of education, occupational level of father and of the subject or her husband in Italy. The general pattern of relationships here is for higher Italian status to be associated inversely with sharing a residence with relatives and with frequency of visiting Italian friends, and directly associated with attending Italian social functions and belonging to Italian organizations. Being from the northern part of Italy is also associated with this same pattern, with the exception noted above.

TABLE VIII

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ITALIAN
SOCIAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES
Number of index items 4

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins	2		1				1		3	4
Social Class										
Occupation Father	2	1					1		2	3
Education	3						1		3	4
Man's last Ital. Job	4								4	4
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.				1		3			1	3
Chauvinism		1		3					3	0
Neuroticism	1	2				1			1	0
Dogmatism		1		3					3	0
Alienation	1	1		1		1			2	2
Pre-Migration Total									22	22
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.	1	2		1					2	1
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	1	2		1					2	1
Relatives in Edmonton	1	1		2					3	1
Close Ital. Relations	1	2		1					2	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		2		1		1			1	1
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.	2			1		1			2	1
Reads Ital. Papers		3		1					1	1
Reads Eng. Papers	1	2		1					2	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	1	1		2					3	1
Sources of Information										
People	1	1				2			1	3
School		4							0	0
Church	1	2	1						2	2
No. of Sources of Info.		1				3			0	3
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		2		1		1			1	1
Level of Current Canad. Job	1	1		2					3	1
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1		2		1			2	1
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		4							1	3
Naturalization				1		3			1	3
Post-Migration Total									30	27
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									52	49

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

There are a number of sex differences in correlates of social integration with other Italians. Chauvinism is directly associated with sharing a residence with relatives, with frequent seeing of Italian friends, and with attendance at Italian social functions for men, but not for women. Dogmatism is directly associated with sharing a residence with relatives and is related in a curvilinear relation to two other indices such that those high and low on dogmatism attend Italian social functions infrequently, but do often belong to Italian associations--all for men but not for women. Having relatives in Edmonton is directly associated with seeing Italian friends, with attending Italian social events, and with sharing a residence with relatives for men, but for women it is associated only with the last index. Reading English magazines is associated inversely with sharing a residence and with frequency of seeing Italian friends, and directly with belonging to Italian associations for men, and again for women it is only associated with the last index. The level of the man's current Canadian position is inversely associated with sharing a residence, and directly associated with membership in Italian associations and with frequent attendance at Italian social events for men. For women it is associated only with the latter.

There are a number of independent variables which are more frequently associated with the Italian social integration indices for women than for men. Frequency of church attendance is inversely associated with seeing Italian friends, and directly associated with attendance at Italian social functions and membership in Italian organizations, for women; but for men it is only directly associated with sharing a residence. Mentioning many sources of information is

inversely associated with sharing residence and with attendance at Italian social functions, and directly associated with visiting Italian friends for women, but not for men. For women, mentioning people as a source of important information is associated directly with sharing a residence and with visiting of Italian friends. It is also associated in a curvilinear fashion with attendance at Italian social functions such that women who do not mention people as a source of information attend very often or not at all. For men it is associated directly only with seeing Italian friends. Naturalization is directly associated with seeing Italian friends and with belonging to Italian organizations, and inversely associated with attending Italian social functions for women. For men it is associated only inversely with sharing a residence with relatives.

This pattern of sex differences suggests again a pattern that was encountered before. Sharing a residence with relatives and frequent seeing of Italian friends, and to a lesser extent, attendance at Italian social events are associated with indications of non-accommodation to Canadian society for men, but for women these tend to be associated with indications of accommodation to Canadian society. Thus sharing a residence and seeing friends frequently are associated with high chauvinism scores, with high dogmatism scores,

a low level current occupation, for men but not for women.

On the other hand, indications of good accommodation to Canadian society, reading English publications and occupying a high level occupational position, are associated with fewer relationships with relatives and friends, for men but not for women. For women only, seeing Italian friends is associated with naturalization whereas

for men naturalization is associated inversely with sharing a residence. Having many sources of information is associated directly with sharing a residence and with seeing friends frequently. Attendance at Italian social functions and membership in Italian organizations tend to be associated with indications of accommodation for both men and women, but the indications are that for women it is a higher level of accommodation, which is more rarely achieved by women than it is by men. In brief, there appears to be a social integration cycle which runs as follows. The initial stage of no association with friends, no memberships and attendance at social functions and (perhaps) very close association with relatives is followed by very frequent association with friends, and gradual limiting of relationships with relatives, and perhaps increasing attendance at Italian social event. This is followed by somewhat less frequent association with fewer Italian friends, and more participation in Italian organizations, and at Italian social events, and probably by more association with non-Italian friends. For women a high level of social integration means to arrive at the second stage, and this is associated with indications of accommodation. For men a high level of social integration means to arrive at the third stage, and this is associated with indications of accommodation to Canadian society.

9.7 Social Integration with Non-Italians. The analysis of sex differences in correlates of integration with non-Italians made use of four index items: having close non-Italian friends, frequency of seeing non-Italian friends, attendance at non-Italian social functions, and total organizational memberships which included both Italian and

non-Italian. Of the 216 possible significant relationships, (27 for each of the four indices, for men and for women) 104 were in fact significant--57 for men and 47 for women. Thirty-one pairs of these significant relationships were identical for men and women. In no cases were the relationships of opposite sign for men and women. The data in Table IX show that the identical patterns of associations for men and women are heavily concentrated in the areas of Italian social class indicators, association with non-Italian relatives or friends, reading of English publications, mobility indicators, and naturalization. In all cases higher class positions in Italy and in Canada, association with non-Italians, and reading English publications are directly associated with indications of social integration with non-Italians.

This pattern is sufficiently general for both men and women that there are only a few independent variables which are more frequently associated with the non-Italian social integration indices for one sex group than the other. All but one involve significant relationships for men. Chauvinism and having relatives in Edmonton and dogmatism are more frequently inversely associated with the criterion indices for men than for women. Closeness of relationships with Italian friends and relatives is directly associated with attending non-Italian social functions, and is related in a curvilinear fashion to relationships with non-Italians, such that those having very close relationships and those having no relationships with Italians see non-Italian friends infrequently and have few close non-Italian friends, for men but not for women. Being upwardly mobile in comparison with the man's last position in Italy is associated directly with the three

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NON-
ITALIAN SOCIAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARI-
ables

Number of Index items 4

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins		2			2		0	2
Social Class								
Occupation Father	2	2					2	2
Education	4						4	4
Man's last Ital. Job	2			1	1		3	3
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		3			1		0	1
Chauvinism		1		3			3	0
Neuroticism	1	1		1	1		2	2
Dogmatism				2		2	4	2
Alienation		1		2	1		2	1
Pre-Migration Total							20	17
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.	1	1			2		1	3
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	3	1					3	3
Relatives in Edmonton		2		2			2	0
Close Ital. Relations		1		3			3	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	2	1			1		2	3
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.	1	1			2		1	3
Reads Ital. Papers		4					0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	4						4	4
Read It/Eng Magazines	4						4	4
Sources of Information								
People		4					0	0
School		4					0	0
Church		3		1			1	0
No. of Sources of Info.		2		1	1		1	1
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job				3	1		3	1
Level of Current Canad. Job	3	1					3	3
Mobility Comp. w. Father	2			2			4	2
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		1		3			3	0
Naturalization	2	1			1		2	3
Post-Migration Total							37	30
<u>Pre- and Post-Migration Total</u>								
							57	47

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

of the four criterion indices. Being from the northern part of Italy was directly associated with two of the criterion indices, for women but not for men.

Clearly what emerges from this analysis is that the processes associated with social integration with non-Italians are largely the same for the men and women in our sample. However, it is clear that a number of relationships are significant for men only: emancipation from very close association with Italian friends and relatives, from chauvinism and freedom from dogmatism, and upward mobility are all associated with the criterion indices. Our suggestion is that it is the Italian man who leads the way into the non-Italian world in terms of relationships, memberships, and social events. Thus involvement in these various aspects of social integration is distinctively associated with certain characteristics of men, and associated with similar characteristics of women perhaps primarily through the tendencies for marriages to be homogamous in these respects.

9.8 Political Integration. The analysis of sex differences in correlates of political integration made use of five indices of political integration: whether or not the respondent voted in the last general and provincial elections, and his ratings of the importance of dominion, provincial, and municipal politics to himself. Of the 270 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the five political integration variables, for men and for women) 153 were in fact significant, 77 for men and 76 for women. Forty-eight pairs of these significant relationships were identical for men and women. Only two were opposite relationships for men and women: citing the

church as a source of important information was inversely associated with having voted in the last general election for men, and directly associated with having voted for women; and being upwardly mobile in comparison with the husband's last position in Italy is directly associated with having rated provincial politics as important for men and inversely associated with a high rating for women.

The data in Table X show that there were four classes of independent variables wherein the correlates of political integration are largely similar for men and women. The most important of these is the group of cultural exposure indices: Long residence in Canada, and the reading of English publications are directly associated with political integration for both men and women, and reading Italian papers and citing the school and the church as important sources of information are largely unrelated to political integration for both men and women. The pattern of relationships between area of residence in Italy and political integration was identical for three out of five of the criterion indices, such that Northern Italian background was directly associated with political integration. Higher class Italian background, as indexed by educational attainment and by occupation of father, was directly associated with political integration for both men and women. Having close non-Italian friends was directly associated with political integration and having relatives in Edmonton was unrelated to four of the five political integration indices for both men and women.

Thus for two-thirds of the significant relationships the direction of the relationships is the same for men and women. However, the remaining fifty relationships reflect some interesting contrasts

TABLE X

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PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
POLITICAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 5

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Fem
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins	3			1	1		4	4
Social Class								
Occupation Father	3			1	1		4	4
Education	5						5	5
Man's last Ital. Job		1		4			4	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		3			2		0	2
Chauvinism	1	2		1	1		2	2
Neuroticism	3			2			5	3
Dogmatism	1			1	3		2	4
Alienation	2	1		1	1		3	3
Pre-Migration Total							29	27
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.	2				3		2	5
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	3			1		1	5	4
Relatives in Edmonton		4		1			1	0
Close Ital. Relations		2		3			3	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	2	1		1	1		3	3
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.	4				1		4	5
Reads Ital. Papers		4		1			1	0
Reads Eng. Papers	5						5	5
Read It/Eng Magazines	5						5	5
Sources of Information								
People		1				4	0	4
School		4		1			1	0
Church		3	1	1			2	1
No. of Sources of Info.		1		1	3		1	3
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job	1	1		2	1		3	2
Level of Current Canad. Job	3	2					3	3
Mobility Comp. w. Father		3		2			2	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job	2		1	1	1		4	4
Naturalization	3				2		3	2
Post-Migration Total							45	40
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							77	67

* M & F significant

M & F curvilinear

between men and women. In the cases of three independent variables there were at least two more significant relationships with criterion indices for men than for women. The level of the man's last occupation in Italy is directly associated with three of the criterion indices and is associated with having voted in the last general election such that those from high and low level positions voted more often, for men, but none of these relationships exist for women. Neuroticism was inversely associated with all five of the criterion indices for men, and with only three for women. Having close relationships with relatives was inversely associated with three of the political integration variables for men, but they were not associated with any of the criterion variables for women.

In six cases the independent variable was significantly related to at least two more of the political integration indices for women than it was for men. Frequent church attendance was directly associated with two of the political integration indices for women but not for men. Dogmatism was inversely associated with four of the criterion indices for women, and with only two of the indices for men. Living in the Italian community was inversely associated with all five political integration indices for women, and with only two for men. Mentioning people as a source of important information was inversely associated with three of the indices and directly associated with having voted in the last provincial election, for women, but was not associated with any of the indices for men. Having many sources of information was associated with any of the indices for men. Having many sources of information was associated with three criterion indices for women and with only one for men. And being a naturalized Canadian citizen was

significantly associated with all five political integration indices for women, and with only three for men.

In summary, it appears that the differential opportunities and degrees of accommodation of Italian men and women to Canadian society results in some systematic differences in the correlates of political integration for each sex. Italian occupational attainments were significantly related for men but not for women. Also for men, emancipation from frequent church attendance and from close relationships with relatives is associated with political integration, whereas this is not true of women. However, for women the kinds of expansion of relationships and perhaps mental horizons implied in living outside of the Italian community, having many sources of information which do not include other people, and having qualified for naturalization are associated with political integration, whereas they are not for men, so frequently. Thus political integration appears to be associated with somewhat more extreme forms of emancipation for men than for women, but for both it is associated with breaking the bonds of enclosure within the Italian community.

9.9 Economic Integration. The analysis of sex differences in economic integration made use of only one index of economic integration, whether the subject would prefer to buy in an Italian or a Canadian store, provided the merchandise was of the same quality. Of the fifty-four possible significant relationships (27 for the single economic integration index, for men and for women) 26 were actually significant, 18 for men and eight for women. Of these, seven pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XI. Buying in a Canadian store was directly associated with the level of the man's

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECONOMIC
INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 1

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins	1						1	1
Social Class								
Occupation Father		1					0	0
Education	1						1	1
Man's last Ital. Job				1			1	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		1					0	0
Chauvinism	1						1	1
Neuroticism	1						1	1
Dogmatism		1					0	0
Alienation				1			1	0
Pre-Migration Total							6	4
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.				1			1	0
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends				1			1	0
Relatives in Edmonton	1						1	1
Close Ital. Relations	1						1	1
Ego-Siblings Intermarry				1			1	0
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.				1			1	0
Reads Ital. Papers		1					0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	1						1	1
Read It/Eng Magazines				1			1	0
Sources of Information								
People				1			1	0
School		1					0	0
Church		1					0	0
No. of Sources of Info.		1					0	0
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		1					0	0
Level of Current Canad. Job				1			1	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father				1			1	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job					1		0	1
Naturalization				1			1	0
Post-Migration Total							12	4
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							18	8

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

last occupation in Italy, with living in the non-Italian community, with having close non-Italian friends, with lengthy residence in Canada, with intermarriage of self or siblings, with reading English magazines, with upward mobility on two of the three indices, and with naturalization, for men, but not for women. Buying in a Canadian store was directly associated with occupation mobility on the third index--that is mobility as compared with the man's last position in Italy--for women but not for men. Thus it appears that the preference for buying in Canadian stores is more frequently associated with a number of indications of accommodation to Canadian society for men than it is for women. It is apparent that there are correlates of the economic integration index for women as well as for men, but it is also clear that these associations are far more frequent for men. The reason for this appears to be that women are more frequently indifferent to the ethnicity of the store (62 per cent) than are men (50 per cent) and apparently men define choice of stores as more frequently involving a loyalty issue than do women.

9.10 Religious Integration. In the case of religious integration again, the analysis of sex differences made use of only one index item: whether the respondent attended the Italian Catholic Church in Edmonton, or some other church. Of the fifty-four possible significant relationships (27 for the lone religious integration index, for men and for women) only 19 were in fact significant, 15 for men and four for women. Of these, four pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XII. For both men and women attending a non-Italian church was inversely associated with chauvinism, and living in the Italian community, and directly associated with length of residence in Canada and with naturalization. For men only, attending a non-Italian church was

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS
INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 1

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins		1							0	0
Social Class										
Occupation Father		1							0	0
Education				1					1	0
Man's last Ital. Job				1					1	0
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		1							0	0
Chauvinism	1								1	1
Neuroticism				1					1	0
Dogmatism				1					1	0
Alienation		1							0	0
Pre-Migration Total									5	1
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.	1								1	1
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends				1					1	0
Relatives in Edmonton				1					1	0
Close Ital. Relations				1					1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry				1					1	0
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.	1								1	1
Reads Ital. Papers		1							0	0
Reads Eng. Papers		1							0	0
Read It/Eng Magazines				1					1	0
Sources of Information										
People		1							0	0
School		1							0	0
Church				1					1	0
No. of Sources of Info.		1							0	0
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job				1					1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		1							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		1							0	0
Naturalization	1								1	1
Post-Migration Total									10	3
Pre- and Post-Migration Total										

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

directly associated with level of education, with level of the man's last Italian occupation, with having close non-Italian friends, with intermarriage of self or siblings, with reading English magazines, and with mobility in comparison with the man's first position in Canada, and inversely associated with dogmatism and neuroticism scores, with having many relatives in Edmonton, with close relationships with relatives, and with citing the church as a source of important information. There were no significant relationships between the independent variables and the criterion index for women only.

The pattern of sex differences in correlates of the religious integration index is like that of the economic integration index, in that there were far more significant relationships between the independent variables and the criterion for men than for women. For men it is quite clear that attendance at a non-Italian church is associated with a number of variables suggesting accommodation to Canadian society. That for women this is far less true is particularly surprising since a larger proportion of women reported attending non-Italian churches than men, the percentages being 18 for women and 12 for men. We suspect that the reason for this surprising pattern of sex differences is that it is the husband who is primarily influential in deciding where the family will go to church, thus it is with his characteristics that attendance at non-Italian churches is associated, rather than with the wife's characteristics. Several informants in the Italian community corroborated this hypothesis when the subject was discussed with them.

9.11 Linguistic Integration. The analysis of sex differences in linguistic integration made use of three indices of linguistic integration: the language spoken by the subject to his spouse, the

language spoken to children, and the language the children spoke to each other. Of the 162 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the three linguistic indices, for men and for women), 65 were actually significant, 37 for men and 28 for women. Of these, 13 pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XIII. For both men and women, educational level was directly associated with two of the three linguistic integration indices, and reading of English publications was directly associated with the indices. There are only a few sex differences in the association of independent variables with the linguistic integration indices. Italian chauvinism was inversely associated with all three criterion indices for men, but with only one for women. Having close relationships with relatives was inversely associated and mobility in comparison with the father's occupation was directly associated each with two of the criterion indices for men, but with none for women. Level of the father's occupation was directly associated with the two of the linguistic integration indices for women only, and having close non-Italian friends was directly associated with all three indices for women, and with only one for the men.

The most significant implication of this pattern of sex differences is that for men use of English in the home situation is associated with achievement of upward mobility and emancipation from close ties with relatives and from chauvinism. For women use of English is associated with an upper class background and with having close non-Italian friends. We may sum this up by saying that with men use of English is associated with high achievement, and emancipation from

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LINGUISTIC
INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of Index items 3

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F C	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear*	Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins		1	1	1			2	1
Social Class								
Occupation Father		1			2		0	2
Education	2	1					2	2
Man's last Ital. Job		2		1			1	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		2			1		0	1
Chauvinism	1			2			3	1
Neuroticism		1		2			2	0
Dogmatism		2			1		0	1
Alienation		2		1			1	0
Pre-Migration Total							11	8
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.		2			1		0	1
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	1				2		1	3
Relatives in Edmonton	1	1		1			2	1
Close Ital. Relations		1		2			2	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	1		1	1			3	2
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.	1			1	1		2	2
Reads Ital. Papers		1	1	1			2	1
Reads Eng. Papers	2				1		2	3
Read It/Eng Magazines	3						3	3
Sources of Information								
People		2		1			1	0
School		2		1			1	0
Church		2		1			1	0
No. of Sources of Info.		2		1			1	0
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		2			1		0	1
Level of Current Canad. Job	1	1			1		1	2
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1		2			2	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		2		1			1	0
Naturalization		1		1	1		1	1
Post-Migration Total							26	20
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							37	28

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

Italian relationship and cultural claims. With women on the other hand, use of English is associated with ascribed, background characteristics. As a result English speaking women have easy access to non-Italian friends, without needing to change their Italian relationships or value identifications. This is the implication of the scant data.

IV. SEX DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION PROCESSES

It will be recalled that the chapter on acculturation and value change was composed of three sections: Identification with the Italian Culture, Acculturation Indices, and Value Identifications. These same divisions will be followed in the present discussion.

9.12 Identification with the Italian Culture. The analysis of sex differences in identification with Italian culture made use of three indices: the chauvinism scores, and two items from the chauvinism scale: "Are you interested in building a 'little Italy' in Edmonton?", and "Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school like a separate school?" Of the 162 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the three identification indices for men and for women), 74 were actually significant, 48 men and 26 for women. Of these, 21 pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XIV. There were no relationships which were significant but of opposite sign for men and for women. The identical pair relationships were clustered in the following categories of independent variables: area of residence in Edmonton, primary group relationships, reading of English publications, and level of the man's current occupation. For both men and women more identification with the Italian culture was associated with living in the Italian community, high

RELATIONS ON MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACCULTURATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 3

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. P O	F. Sig. M O	Curvi- linear	Total	
							Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins	1			1	1		2	2
Social Class								
Occupation Father				2	1		2	1
Education				3			3	0
Man's last Ital. Job				3			3	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		2		1			1	0
Concuvinism		3					0	0
Neuroticism	2				1		2	3
Dogmatism	1			1	1		2	2
Alienation		2		1			1	0
Pre-Migration Total							16	8
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.	2			1			3	2
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	2			1			3	2
Relatives in Edmonton	2			1			3	2
Close Ital. Relations		1		2			2	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	1			2			3	1
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.		1			2		0	2
Reads Ital. Papers		3					0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	2			1			3	2
Read It/Eng Magazines	3						3	3
Sources of Information								
People		3					0	0
School		1		2			2	0
Church		3					0	0
No. of Sources of Info.				1	2		1	2
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		2		1			1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job	2			1			3	2
Mobility Comp. w. Father				3			3	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		1		2			2	0
Naturalization		3					0	0
Post-Migration Total							32	18
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							48	26

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

chauvinism scores, having no class non-Italian friends, having relatives in Edmonton, not reading English publications, and the man having a low level current occupation.

There are a number of rather interesting sex differences in significant relationships between independent variables and the indices of identification with Italian culture. For men all three indices of Italian social class were inversely associated with the criterion indices but this was not true for women. Having close relationships with relatives was directly associated with two of the three criterion indices for men but not for women. Not being upwardly mobile was associated with high chauvinism scores for men but not for women. Being in favor of building a "little Italy" was associated with both upward and with downward mobility for men but not for women. Having many sources of information is inversely associated with the criteria for women but not for men.

This pattern of sex differentiated interrelationships between the independent variables and the indices of identification with Italian culture appears to signify the following. For both men and women living in non-Italian areas of the city, association with non-Italians and not with relatives, and the reading of English publications is associated with emancipation from chauvinism. Only for men, however, are the indications of higher Italian social class, and of upward mobility in Canada, associated with non-chauvinism. What this appears to indicate is that for men opportunities in Canada which a higher class Italian background makes available are associated with a loss of chauvinism. but for women from the same background this does not necessarily happen.

Only if they read English publications, do not have access to relatives in the city, and form friendships with non-Italians does this happen for Italian women.

9.12 Acculturation Indices. The analysis of sex differences in Acculturation made use of three indices: the number of children reported by subjects as ideal, child dominance scores, and level of job aspirations for self reported by respondents. It will be recalled that these may be termed acculturation indices because directionality of attitude change on each of these three is assumed as acculturation proceeds: toward a lower ideal number of children, toward less of child dominance, and toward higher self aspirations. Of the 162 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the three identification indices for men and for women) 61 were actually significant, 36 for men and 25 for women. Of these, 17 pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XV. The identical pair relationships were clustered in the areas of education , reading English magazines, and Italian chauvinism. The first two are directly associated with the high acculturation indices, and the latter is inversely associated with the indices. Three independent variables were not significantly associated with any of the criterion indices for either men or women: frequency of church attendance, reading of Italian newspapers, and level of the husband's first job in Canada. A number of independent variables were not significantly associated with two of the three indices for either men or women: Italian chauvinism, having close non-Italian friends, having close relationships with relatives, number of sources of information, level of the man's current occupation, and his mobility in comparison with the father.

TABLE IV

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
ACCULTURATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 3

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Fem.
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins	1	1		1					2	1
Social Class										
Occupation Father	1	1		1					2	1
Education	3								3	3
Man's last Ital. Job	1	2							1	1
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		3							0	0
Chauvinism	2	1							2	2
Neuroticism				3					3	0
Dogmatism	1	1		1					2	1
Alienation	1	1				1			1	2
Pre-Migration Total									16	11
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.	1	1		1					2	1
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	1	2							1	1
Relatives in Edmonton		1		1		1			1	1
Close Ital. Relations		2		1					1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		1		2					2	0
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.				2		1			2	1
Reads Ital. Papers		3							0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	1	1		1					2	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	2	1							2	2
Sources of Information										
People		3							0	0
School		1				2			0	2
Church		1		1		1			1	1
No. of Sources of Info.		2				1			0	1
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		3							0	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		2		1					1	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		2						1	1	1
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job	1	1		1					2	1
Naturalization	1	1		1					3	1
Post-Migration Total									20	14
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									36	25

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

There are but few sex differences in significant relationships between independent variables and the indices of acculturation. Neuroticism scores are directly associated with ideal number of children and child dominance and inversely associated with level of self aspirations, and no intermarriage of self or siblings is similarly associated with the latter two indices, for men but not for women. Mentioning the school as an important source of information is directly associated with level of self aspirations and with child dominance for women but not for men.

In sum, acculturation as narrowly indexed in the present study is associated with education, with reading English publications, and with non-chauvinistic attitudes for both men and women. There is indication that for men it is associated with emancipation from the somewhat patriarchal peasant provincialism which is associated with low neuroticism scores and intermarriage within the family of orientation, but this is not true of women.

9.13. Value Identifications. The analysis of sex differences in changes in value identifications is made up of two multi-part items: "If you had your choice, would you most like to be: (a) successful, (b) independent, (c) well liked?" and "What was your main reason for buying the house you live in, or which would influence you most if you were to buy a house?"

- a. price of the house
- b. relatives living close by
- c. there are other Italians in the neighborhood.

- d. it is close to good schools
- e. there are not other Italians in the neighborhood
- f. there are no relatives living close
- g. fashionable neighborhood
- h. close to work, town, shopping

Since there were very few responses in the (e), (f), and (g) categories, these were omitted and the remaining categories were coded into three categories: reasons of price, reasons involving people, and reasons involving facilities. Each of these two items will be considered separately, in sequence.

Of the 162 possible significant relationships between the value item and the independent variables (27 for each of the three value choices, for men and for women), only 17 were in fact significant: eight for men and nine for women. Of these two pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women as seen in Table XVI. For both men and women, the reading of English magazines, and having a high level of education were directly associated with the wish to be successful.

The other sex differences were as follows. Having relatives in Edmonton and having close relationships with them was associated with more frequently wishing to be well liked and less frequently to be independent, for men only. For men also, mentioning the school as a source of information was associated with wishing to be independent. Being naturalized, for men, was associated with wishing more frequently to be successful.

For women only, intermarriage of self or siblings was more often wishing to be independent and less often wishing to be well

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
VALUE IDENTIFICATION INDICES AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 3

	M & F Same ? Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear*	Total	
				F	O	M	C		Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins		3							0	0
Social Class										
Occupation Father		2							0	0
Education	1	2							1	1
Man's last Ital. Job		3							0	0
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		3							0	0
Chauvinism		3							0	0
Neuroticism		3							0	0
Dogmatism		2					1		0	1
Alienation		3							1	2
Pre-Migration Total									2	4
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.		3							0	0
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends		3							0	0
Relatives in Edmonton		1			2				2	0
Close Ital. Relations		1			2				2	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		1					2		0	2
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.		3							0	0
Reads Ital. Papers		3							0	0
Reads Eng. Papers		1					2		0	2
Read It/Eng Magazines	1	2							1	1
Sources of Information										
People		3							0	0
School		2			1				1	0
Church		3							0	0
No. of Sources of Info.		3							0	0
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		3							0	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		3							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		3							0	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		3							0	0
Naturalization					1		2		1	2
Post-Migration Total									7	7
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									8	9

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

liked. Also for women, reading English newspapers was more often associated with wishing to be successful and less often independent. Being naturalized was associated with wishing less often to be well liked and more often to be independent for women. The most and the least dogmatic women most often chose being well liked.

These few significant relationships are so thinly scattered that no pattern of sex differences emerges. There are bases for assuming that the wish to be well liked is indicative of a peasant orientation, as discussed in Chapter VII. It is consistent with other sex differences presented earlier that choice of this peasant value is characteristic of the men who have close ties with relatives, but not of women. The wish to be successful is characteristic of the more sophisticated men and women. There is a slight indication that more acculturated women may more often wish for independence whereas comparable men may wish to be successful. The major finding would appear to be that movement away from the wish to be well liked is associated with breaking close familial ties for men but not for women.

Turning to the criteria mentioned by respondents for buying a house, we find in Table XVII that of the 162 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the three criteria, for men and for women), 45 were in fact significant: 27 for men and 18 for women. Of these, seven pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women. For both, having relatives in Edmonton was inversely associated with mentioning price as a criterion, and having close relationships with them was directly associated with mentioning people as a criterion.

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
CRITERIA TO BUY A HOUSE INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

number of index items 3

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F 0	F. Sig. M 0	Curvi- linear*	Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins		3					0	0
Social Class							0	0
Occupation Father		3					0	0
Education		3					0	0
Man's last Ital. Job		1		2			2	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		1			2		0	0
Chauvinism	1	1		1			2	0
Neuroticism		1		2			0	0
Dogmatism		3					0	0
Alienation	1	1			1		0	0
Pre-migration Total								
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.		3						
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends		1		2				
Relatives in Edmonton	1			1		1		
Close Ital. Relations	1	1			1		1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		2		1			1	0
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.		3					0	0
Reads Ital. Papers				3			0	0
Reads Eng. Papers		1			2		0	0
Read It/Eng Magazines		1	1	1			0	0
Sources of Information								
People		1		2			2	0
School		1		2			2	0
Church		3					0	0
No. of Sources of Info.	2				1		2	0
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job		2		1			1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		3					0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1			2		0	2
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		3					0	0
Naturalization	1	1		1			0	0
Post-migration Total								
Pre- and Post-Migration Total								

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

Having many sources of information was inversely associated with mentioning people and directly associated with mentioning price, for both men and women. For both, being naturalized was directly associated with mentioning facilities, and having high chauvinism and high alienation scores was directly associated with mentioning people as a basis of choice.

There was one pair of relationships which were significant but of opposite sign for men and for women: reading English magazines was directly associated with mentioning price for men but inversely associated with it for women.

There were a number of other sex differences. For men only having close non-Italian friends was associated inversely with mentioning price. Having relatives in Edmonton was directly associated for men with mentioning people, and for women it was associated with mentioning facilities. For women, having close relationships with relatives was inversely associated with mentioning price. Inter-marriage of self or siblings was inversely associated with mentioning people, and reading Italian newspapers was directly associated with mentioning people, and inversely associated with mentioning price and facilities, for men. Reading English newspapers was inversely associated with mentioning people, and directly associated with mentioning facilities, for women. Reading magazines was inversely associated with mentioning people for men. For men only, mentioning people as a source of information was inversely associated with mentioning facilities and directly with mentioning people, while mentioning the school as a source of information was associated inversely with mentioning people and directly with mentioning price.

For women, having many sources of information was directly associated with mentioning facilities. Level of the husband's first job in Canada was inversely associated with mentioning facilities for men. Upward mobility of the husband in comparison with the father's occupation was for women inversely associated with mentioning people and directly associated with mentioning price. Being naturalized was inversely associated with mentioning price for men.

But few of the pre-migration independent variables are significantly related to sex differences in choice of criteria: for men, level of the husband's last occupation in Italy is associated inversely with mentioning people and directly associated with mentioning price. Women frequent in church attendance tended to mention price infrequently and facilities frequently. For men, high chauvinism and neuroticism scores were inversely associated with price, and the former was directly associated with people. High alienation scores were for women inversely associated with mentioning facilities as a basis for choosing a house to purchase.

Again, it is difficult to discern a pattern in this scattering of relationships. The choice more characteristic of a peasant orientation is "people". Perhaps the most clear pattern is that a much higher proportion of the significant associations for women involved facilities than they did for men, the proportions being 32 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. The men who are more accommodated to Canadian society tend more often to mention price, and comparable women tend to mention facilities. For both, this involves a shift away from the tendency to mention people, and for both this is associated with some curtailment of relationships with relatives. In general, the independent variables associated with

a shift away from people as a basis for choice tend to be the same for both men and women. For neither is duration of Canadian residence, area of residence in Canada, region of Italian origins, occupation of father or level of educational attainment significantly associated with choice. For both men and women, choice patterns are associated with interpersonal relationships, with reading patterns and sources of information. For men there are significant associations with neuroticism and level of occupation in Italy. For women there are significant associations with frequency of church attendance and the husband's occupational mobility.

V. SEX DIFFERENCES IN ASSIMILATIVE PROCESSES

It will be recalled that in Chapter VIII the discussion of assimilative tendencies among the members of the sample was divided into indications of repudiation of Italian ways, and indications of attraction to Canada; that division will be followed in ^{this} section. Naturalization will be considered separately at the end of the section.

9.14 Repudiation of Italian ways. The analysis of sex differences in repudiation of Italian ways made use of six indices: the respondent's attitude toward the changing of surnames, whether or not the respondent or any members of his family have joined non-Italian churches, respondent's belonging only to non-Italian organizations, the rejection of Italianisms score, and two component items of this scale: "Some Italian customs should no longer be practiced

because they delay the acceptance of Italians into Canadian society," and "Have you ever felt embarrassed observing the way Italians behave, in general, in Edmonton?" Of the 304 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the six repudiation indices, for men and for women), 112 were actually significant, 58 for men and 54 for women. Of these, 23 pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XVIII. Only one independent variable was associated with a criterion index in opposite ways for men and women: being naturalized was directly associated with favorability toward name changing for women but inversely so for men. The identical pair relationships were clustered in a few areas: reading English publications, education, and intermarriage of self or siblings.

For both men and women, the relationship between the independent variable and at least four of the six criterion indices was not significant for the following independent variables: dogmatism, alienation, living in the Italian community, having relatives in Edmonton, reading Italian newspapers, number of sources of information, citing people, school, and church as sources of information, level of the man's first job in Canada, and the man's mobility compared with his last job in Italy.

There are quite a number of sex differences in relationships between independent variables and indices of repudiation of Italian ways. Being from North Italy is associated with three repudiation indices for men, and one for women. Occupational level of the man's last position in Italy is directly associated with four repudiation indices for men and with two for women. Having relatives in Edmonton, having close relationships with these relatives, reading Italian newspapers, ...

TABLE XVIII

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PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES
OF REPUDIATION OF ITALIAN WAYS AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES.

Number of index items 6

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig.		F. Sig.		Curvi- linear ^a	Total	
				F	O	M	O		Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>										
North-South Origins		2		3		1			3	1
Social Class										
Occupation Father	2			2		2			4	2
Education	3					3			3	6
Man's last Ital. Job	1	2		2				1	4	2
Personality										
Freq. of Church Att.		3		1		2			1	2
Chauvinism	1	3		1		1			2	2
Neuroticism		3		2		1			2	1
Dogmatism		5		1					1	0
Alienation	1	5							1	1
Pre-Migration Total									21	19
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>										
Live Ital. Commun.		4				2			0	2
Interpers. Interaction										
Non-Ital. Friends	2			1		3			3	3
Relatives in Edmonton		4		2					2	0
Close Ital. Relations		3		3					3	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	3			1		2			4	5
Cultural Exposure										
Duration Canad. Res.		3				3			0	3
Reads Ital. Papers		4		2					2	0
Reads Eng. Papers	3	1		1		1			4	4
Read It/Eng Magazines	5					1			5	
Sources of Information										
People		4		1		1			1	1
School		5		1					1	0
Church	1	4				1			1	0
No. of Sources of Info.		4		1		1			1	1
Social Class										
Level of 1st Canad. Job		5		1					1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		2		2		2			2	2
Mobility Comp. w. Father		4		1		1			1	1
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		4		2					2	0
Naturalization	1	1	1	2		1			4	3
Post-Migration Total									37	35
Pre- and Post-Migration Total									58	54

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

not being upwardly mobile in contrast to the last position in Italy were all inversely associated with repudiation items for men but not for women. Mobility in contrast to the father's position was directly associated with three repudiation indices for men and with one for women. Education was directly associated with all six repudiation indices for women but with only three for men. Living in non-Italian areas of the city, and duration of residence in Canada are directly associated with repudiation indices for women, but not for men. Having close non-Italian friends is associated directly with five of the repudiation indices for women, and with two of the indices for men.

It is clear that reading English publications, having close relationships with non-Italian friends and relatives and education are the independent variables most closely associated with repudiation of Italian ways, and that the last two are more significant for women than for men. Also important for women are length of Canadian residence, and residence in non-Italian areas of the city. For men, being from the North of Italy, having a higher level position in Italy, and being upwardly mobile in Canada, not having close relationships with relatives and not subscribing to Italian papers are associated with repudiation responses. Thus it appears that for men more than for women, it is a Northern Italian background, achievements in this country, and emancipation from relatives and Italian cultural influences which are significant, whereas for women it is education, close association with non-Italians as relatives, friends, and neighbors, and length of residence in Canada, which are significantly associated with repudiation. More basically, since ability to form non-Italian friendships and to read

are English publications/probably importantly influenced by educational attainments while in Italy, it appears that repudiation of Italian ways in women is more associated with pre-migration influences whereas for men it is more associated with occupational achievements and with the elimination of certain Italian influences. This last condition does not appear to be true of Italian women. It is remarkable that personality variables are not related to the criterion for either sex group.

9.15 Pro-Canadian Indications. The analysis of sex differences in pro-Canadian assimilation made use of three indices, all relating to intermarriage: whether or not the respondent was intermarried, whether or not there was intermarriage in ego's immediate or extended family, and an attitude item, whether or not the respondent was in favor of intermarriage. Of the 162 possible significant relationships (27 for each of the three repudiation indices), 63 were actually significant, 42 for men and 21 for women. Of these, 13 pairs of relationships were identical for men and for women, as seen in Table XIX. None of the independent variables were associated with a criterion index in opposite ways for men and women.

The identical relationships were clustered in the areas of reading English publications having close non-Italian friends and chauvinism. The relationships which were not significant for either men or women were found primarily in the following independent variable areas: sources of information, level of the husband's first job in Canada, mobility in comparison with the father's occupation, frequency of church attendance and dogmatism.

Most of the sex differences in relationships between these assimilation indices and the independent variables involved relationships

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES
OF PRO-CANADIANISM AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 3

	M & F Same 2 Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F 0	F. Sig. M 0	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins				3			3	0
Social Class							0	2
Occupation Father		1			2		0	2
Education	1			1	1		2	2
Man's last Ital. Job		1		1		1	2	1
Personality							0	0
Freq. of Church Att.		3					0	0
Chauvinism	1	1		1			3	2
Neuroticism	1	1			1		1	2
Dogmatism		3					0	0
Alienation		1		1	1		1	1
Pre-Migration Total							12	10
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.				3			3	0
Interpers. Interaction							3	3
Non-Ital. Friends	3						2	0
Relatives in Edmonton		1		2			3	0
Close Ital. Relations				3			1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry		2		1				
Cultural Exposure							2	1
Duration Canad. Res.				2	1		1	0
Reads Ital. Papers		2		1			3	2
Reads Eng. Papers	2			1			3	2
Read It/Eng Magazines	2			1				
Sources of Information							0	0
People		3					0	0
School		3					1	0
Church		2		1			0	1
No. of Sources of Info.		2			1			
Social Class							0	0
Level of 1st Canad. Job		3					3	1
Level of Current Canad. Job	1			2			1	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		2		1				
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job		1		2			2	0
Naturalization	1	1		1			2	1
Post-Migration Total							30	11
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							42	21

* M & F significant
M & F curvilinear

which were significant for men but not for women. Being from the North of Italy, living in non-Italian areas of Edmonton, having few relatives in Edmonton and few relationships with them are all directly associated with intermarriage or favourability toward it. The level of the subject's (husband's) current occupation is directly associated with all three of the assimilation indices for men and with intermarriage of self or siblings for women. The man's mobility in comparison with his last position in Italy is directly associated with favourability toward intermarriage for men. It is related in a curvilinear fashion to intermarriage of the respondent, such that those men who were both upwardly and downwardly mobile were more often intermarried. The significance of this is that of those Italians who were lower class in Italy a certain proportion are upwardly mobile in Canada and those who were higher class in Italy are often initially downwardly mobile in Canada. These are the two groups which are more frequently intermarried. Only occupation of the father was more frequently associated with the assimilation indices for the women than for the men.

The significance of these findings appear to be that women are much more often neutral on the issue of intermarriage than men, except those from higher class homes were more in favor of it than those from lower class homes. For men not only is region of Italian origin important but also emancipation from Italian ties--in terms of leaving the Italian community and few relationships with relatives and more with non-Italian friends--and upward occupational mobility. Again it would appear that for women, Italian background characteristics (including reading of English publications in so far as this suggests

higher Italian educational attainments) are more importantly associated with the criterion indices, whereas for men, although background characteristics are associated, the achievements of subjects following their arrival in Canada are more frequently also involved.

VI. SEX DIFFERENCES IN NATURALIZATION TO CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Naturalization is treated in a separate section because in one sense it is a general index of assimilation, and because it cannot be identified as reflecting predominantly a rejection of Italianism, or pro-Canadianism. There is only a single index item which inquires whether respondents are, or intend to become, naturalized. Of the fifty-four possible significant relationships, 23 were actually significant, 12 for men and 11 for women. In no cases were the independent variables associated with naturalization in opposite ways for men and women. In five cases the relationships between the independent variables and the criterion were identical for men and women: education, having close non-Italian friends, duration of Canadian residence, and reading English publications. The relationship was significant for neither men nor women in nine cases, as shown in Table XX. These related primarily to current occupational status and to personality variables. For men only, naturalization was directly associated with the level of the father's occupation and of his own last occupation in Italy and his first job in Canada, and inversely associated with dogmatism, with close associations with relatives in Edmonton, and with citing people and church as sources of important information. For women only naturalization was directly

TABLE XL

PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
NATURALIZATION INDICES AND PRE AND POST MIGRATION VARIABLES

Number of index items 1

	M & F Same & Signif.	Neither Signif.	M & F Opposite & Signif.	M. Sig. F 0	F. Sig. M 0	Curvi- linear*	Total	
							Male	Female
<u>Pre-Migration Variables</u>								
North-South Origins					1		0	1
Social Class								
Occupation Father				1			1	0
Education	1						1	1
Man's last Ital. Job				1			1	0
Personality								
Freq. of Church Att.		1					0	0
Chauvinism		1					0	0
Neuroticism		1					0	0
Dogmatism				1			1	0
Alienation		1					0	0
Pre-Migration Total							4	2
<u>Post-Migration Variables</u>								
Live Ital. Commun.					1		0	1
Interpers. Interaction								
Non-Ital. Friends	1						1	1
Relatives in Edmonton				1			1	0
Close Ital. Relations				1			1	0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry					1		0	1
Cultural Exposure								
Duration Canad. Res.	1						1	1
Reads Ital. Papers		1					0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	1						1	1
Read It/Eng Magazines	1						1	1
Sources of Information								
People					1		0	1
School		1					0	0
Church				1			1	0
No. of Sources of Info.					1		0	1
Social Class								
Level of 1st Canad. Job				1			1	0
Level of Current Canad. Job		1					0	0
Mobility Comp. w. Father		1					0	0
Mobility Comp. w. last Italian Job					1		0	1
Naturalization		1					0	0
Post-Migration Total							8	6
Pre- and Post-Migration Total							12	11

* M & F significant

M F curvilinear

associated with being from Northern Italy, with living outside of the Italian community, with intermarriage of self or siblings, with having many sources of important information, and with being married to an upwardly mobile husband.

There are no clear differences between this pattern and the two previous ones. Women who are naturalized, like naturalized men-- are better educated, long term residents of Canada, who have close non-Italian friends, and read English publications. With men, naturalization is further associated with decreasing association with relatives, decreasing dependence on church and other people for information, and with upward mobility. With women the curtailment of association with church and relatives, etc., is not explicitly apparent, but an increasing range of contacts is apparently associated with naturalization, as indicated by living outside of the Italian community, and by having many sources of information. Thus it would appear that for men naturalization is associated with emancipation from narrowly Italian influences, together with upward occupational mobility. For women it is associated not so much with cutting down certain contacts, as with increasing others.

VII. SUMMARY

This chapter has dealt with a rather confusing array of patterns of independent variables which were associated with various aspects of adjustment, integration, acculturation and assimilation as these were indexed in the present study, for men and for women. If these patterns are carefully studied, however, it becomes clear that they can be reduced to a smaller number of more basic patterns, and this is our purpose in this concluding section of the chapter.

A small number of more or less frequently described independent variable patterns may be described. The basic one, of course, is away from an Italian pattern toward a more Canadian pattern. However, the Italian pattern is not a single one but even in oversimplified terms is composed of at least two different distinct patterns. The more frequent one is a Southern Italian peasant pattern involving low education and a low level of occupation both of the respondent's father and of the respondent himself, or of the respondent's husband, and usually personality scores indicative of poor adjustment. The other is an upper class Italian background involving higher educational attainment (including no doubt some exposure to English) and a higher level of occupation both of the respondent's father and of the respondent himself or of the respondent's husband.

The Canadian pattern is, of course, diverse as well. The most significant variants of this pattern, as they have emerged in the preceding pages of this chapter and when viewed from the perspective of the independent variables are: emancipation from close relationships with relatives; attenuation of other Italian influences, as in leaving the Italian community; weakened relationships with the church; upward occupational mobility; more numerous Canadian contacts; more Canadian (school, radio) sources of information; reading English publications; and close relationships with non-Italian friends and relatives.

The differences which exist between the relationships of the various aspects of accommodation to Canadian society and the independent variables for men and for women, may be summarized in terms of these patterns.

Good economic adjustment was for men associated with the weakening of Italian influences and with orientation toward Canadian influences. This pattern was less clearly true of women, whereas there was some direct association of personal maladjustment indices with economic adjustment for women.

Good social adjustment for men was associated with no weakening of the Italian (peasant) influences and with little Canadianization, whereas for women it is associated with increased Canadian contacts.

Good personal adjustment is associated with a similar pattern of independent variables for both men and women, but some indices of higher social standing and of Canadianization which for men are associated with good personal adjustment, are associated with maladjustment indicators for women, suggesting that a sense of alienation is more a problem for the latter.

For men, satisfaction with life in Canada is associated with continued involvement in peasant patterns and values, and little Canadianization, whereas dissatisfaction is associated with loss of Italianisms, and with upward mobility and Canadianization. For women, however, those who are more emancipated from old country relationships patterns and values, and have more contacts with Canadian life are more satisfied.

Ecological integration was associated with indicators of highly class Italian status and of increased Canadian contacts, for both men and women.

Italian social integration presents a pattern of sex differences very like that of social adjustment: for men it is inversely associated

with expanded Canadian contacts and indicators of upward mobility. For women it is associated with indices of Canadianization and of upward mobility.

Non-Italian social integration is for both men and women associated with higher class Italian background, with increased Canadian contacts, and with upward mobility. For men only it is also associated with decreased exposure to Italian associates and influences. It appears that Italian men must lose more than Italian women if they are to move into the non-Italian world, perhaps because it is usually they who lead the way into this world.

For both men and women, political integration is associated with breaking the bonds of the Italian community. For men, it is also associated with upward mobility, expanded Canadian contacts, and with loss of Italian contacts and relationships. For women, however, it is associated only with a broader range of involvement.

Economic integration, as indexed by the item dealing with preference for Canadian or Italian stores, is associated with indicators of increased Canadian contacts and loss of Italian involvements for men, but not for women, apparently because this was defined as a loyalty issue by the men. The ethnicity of the store was more frequently a matter of indifference to the women.

Religious integration was associated with many independent variables for men but with few for women, apparently because it is the men who decide which church the family will attend. For men, religious integration is associated with higher class Italian background, with increased Canadian contacts, and with loss of Italian involvements.

Linguistic integration for men is associated with loss of Italian involvements and with upward mobility, whereas for women it is associated with upper class Italian background and non-Italian friendships, but there is no loss of Italian involvements.

Loss of Italian chauvinism for men is associated with higher class Italian background and indicators of upward mobility; in the absence of the latter the men retain their sense of Italian involvement. For women it is associated with higher class Italian background and loss of Italian relationships coupled with increased Canadian contacts. Again the higher class background alone is insufficient.

Canadian acculturation as measured by our three rather arbitrary indices of ideal number of children, child dominance tendencies, and level of self aspirations, was associated with high educational attainment, reading of English publications, and low chauvinism for both men and women. For men there was further indication of emancipation from patriarchal peasant provincialism, but not for women.

In summarizing value change, we will restrict ourselves to the "criteria for buying a house" item. In general, for both men and women, those less accommodated in both sex groups more frequently mentioned "people" whereas more accommodated men mentioned "price" and more accommodated women mentioned "facilities" as bases of choice. The latter groups of men and women were alike in having fewer Italian involvements including fewer relationships with relatives, and in having increased Canadian contacts.

All three of the assimilation sub-categories--repudiation of Italian ways, pro-Canadian indications, and naturalization, tended to be associated with the same distinctive patterns of independent variables for men and for women. For both men and women, reading English publications

having close relationships with non-Italian friends and relatives, and high educational attainment, are associated with assimilation. Beyond this, assimilation for men is associated with upward mobility and with curtailment of close relationships with relatives, and the indication is that the man's achievements in this country are importantly associated with his assimilative tendencies. For women, however, assimilation is not associated with elimination of Italian relationships. Rather the implication is that it is her higher class background which prepares her in terms of education and English facility, to develop increased Canadian contacts and involvements, and that her achievements in this country are less important than her background in influencing her assimilative tendencies.

There are several points that can be made in a final summary.

1. The adjustment processes work differently for men and women: for men emancipation from what we may loosely term the peasant pattern is associated with economic and personal adjustment, but it is associated with less adequate social adjustment, and with more dissatisfaction with life in Canada. With women, there was no distinctive pattern associated with economic adjustment but social and personal adjustment and satisfaction with life in Canada were all associated with emancipation from the female peasant pattern.

2. The men who are most successful in coping with problems which they encounter in Canada are those who are most critical of what they find here, and most often consider, and even plan, for the return to Italy, and regret their move here. For women, on the other hand, it is those least emancipated from the peasant pattern who, suffering from

deprivation of the personal relationship satisfactions which had given their lives meaning in rural Italy, in Edmonton, are least satisfied with their lives here. As they become emancipated from this peasant pattern they tend to become more satisfied.

3. For men, integration into various aspects of Canadian society, acculturation and assimilation were usually associated with less exposure to Italian influences, including a breaking off of relationships with relatives and lesser dependence on the Church, whereas for women integration, acculturation and assimilation were usually associated with increased Canadian contacts but also, frequently, with increased relationships with other Italians.

4. For men, integration, acculturation, and assimilation were usually associated with achievement, especially in the occupational area. Non-achievement usually resulted in non-integration, unacculturation, and non-assimilation. For women, however, integration, acculturation, and assimilation were associated more with a high class Italian background which prepared them, especially in terms of language facility, for a broader range of contacts with Canadian society.

CHAPTER X

PREDICTIVE POWER OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, A SUMMARY

We have now finished presenting the relationships between the independent variables and various categories of dependent variables for both the total sample and for the men and women considered separately. In this chapter we shall seek to combine the various patterns of relationships which have already been presented into a single picture. We shall consider first the frequency of association of the various independent variables with all of the indices of accommodation. Then we shall consider the extent to which the various categories of dependent variables (economic, social, and personal adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc.,) are associated significantly with the independent variables. We shall do this for the combined sample, and for the male and the female sub-samples.

I. THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

In Table I is found a ranking of the independent variables, ranked by the frequency with which they were significantly associated with the dependent variables. The frequency of such relationships ranges from 69 to 14. It is instructive to consider those at the top and the bottom of the range. At the top is level of education, followed by two items dealing with the reading of English publications. Education is, of course, related to the second two, either in terms of school training in English or at least a breadth of familiarity with language which would make the learning of written English more easy. The top

TABLE I

RANKING OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES BY FREQUENCY OF SIGNIFICANT
ASSOCIATIONS WITH DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	Rank	Number of Significant Associations
Isolation	1	69
Reads English papers	2	68
Reads English/Italian Magazines	2	68
Non-Italian Friends	3	64
Participation	4	63
Chauvinism	5	59
Duration of Residence in Canada	6	58
Age	7	55
Area of Italian Origin	8	53
Intermarried	9	51
Last Italian Occupation	9	51
Relatives in Edmonton	10	50
Alienation	10	50
Level of first Canadian job	11	49
Naturalization	11	49
Neuroticism	12	48
Occupation of Father	13	44
Sex	13	44
Primary relations with Italians	14	42
Lives in Italian community	15	41
Dogmatism	15	41
Marital Status	16	40
Number of sources of Information	17	37
Mobility in comparison with last Italian job	17	37
Mobility in comparison with father	18	36
Level of first Canadian job	19	35
Rural-Urban Origin	20	30
Reads Italian Papers	21	29
Church-source of Information	22	25
People-source of Information	23	23
School-source of Information	24	16
Frequency of church attendance	25	15
Frequency watching T.V.	26	14
Radio-source of Information	26	14

positions of reading English magazines and newspapers reflects not only the importance of fluency in English, which such reading presumes, but also the kind of interests which result in such reading. In fourth rank is non-Italian close friendships, which also depend upon a reasonably good command of English, and also, perhaps, the non-peasant background from which all with substantial educational attainments tended to come. Close friendships with non-Italians would, of course, be extremely helpful in furthering the integration of Italians in Canadian society.

The fifth ranking variable is participation, a composite index combining various indices of participation in Canadian society, which is, of course, frequently associated with the dependent variables. Next is chauvinism, whose high ranking position signifies the importance for integration of emancipation from the close involvement with Italy and Italianisms which this variable indexes. Duration of residence in Canada stands in seventh place. This low position suggests, on the one hand the extent to which other variables are more closely associated with accommodation to Canada than mere duration, but also its position demonstrates the extent to which it is significant. Age differences rank in eighth place: in general younger subjects were better accommodated, but in some areas, such as economic adjustment and satisfaction they were less well so than older subjects. Next is the region of Italian origins of the immigrants, North, or South: in general, Northerners

were better accommodated but in some areas, such as social adjustment and satisfaction, Southern Italians were better accommodated. The tenth variable, intermarriage, relates to the significance of having non-Italian relatives and it correlates positively with the indices. The eleventh and fourteenth ranking variables are two personality variables, neuroticism and alienation. In eleventh rank is the man's current last occupation in Italy. Tied for twelfth and thirteenth rank positions are having relatives in Edmonton and alienation. Both tended to correlate negatively with many of the indices, with the exception of indices of social adjustment and satisfaction in the first case. Three variables are tied in the next three rank positions: naturalization, the man's current occupation in Canada, and the occupation of the father.

Turning to the low end of the ranking, the independent variables which were least frequently associated with any of the criterion variables were frequency of viewing television and citing radio as a source of information. The insignificance of the former may reflect the fact that perhaps many of those who watch it do so so casually or with such little comprehension of English that the content of even serious programs has little significance for them. One of the surprising findings of the study is that frequency of church attendance is so little associated with the criteria. Although there is a rather good distribution of the sample on this variable, whether subjects do or do not go to church is minimally associated with accommodation, ranking next to television viewing in insignificance. The tendency to look to the church as a source of important information is rather more frequently associated with the criterion variables,

ranking twenty-ninth. All four of the sources of important information mentioned by people which were investigated in detail, radio, school, people and church were relatively insignificant, ranking thirty-third (tied), thirty-first, thirtieth and twenty-ninth, in that order. It is noteworthy that the two traditional Italian sources of information; people and church, ranked higher than the two impersonal Canadian sources; school and radio.

Reading an Italian paper and the rural-urban Italian background of the respondent were also relatively insignificant, ranking twenty-eighth and twenty-seventh. The level of the man's first job in Canada, and the man's occupational mobility in comparison with his father ranked twenty-sixth and twenty-fifth. Number of sources of information and the man's occupational mobility in comparison with his last Italian job tied for the twenty-third and twenty-fourth positions. As mentioned earlier, marriage is a spurious variable since what it does is to compare a group of young men--who are single--with the rest of the sample, women and older men.

The ranking of categories of independent variables which is implicit in this ranked list of items becomes explicit if these categories are ranked according to the average number of significant relationships with criterion variables per item. If we leave out the single item categories, and divide the cultural exposure items into those dealing with sources of information items and the other cultural exposure items, the resulting ranking is found in Table II. This table shows that Italian social class ranks first and cultural

TABLE III

TABLE III
 RANKING OF CATEGORIES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN TERMS OF FREQUENCY
 OF SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATION WITH INDICES OF ACCOMMODATION, INCLUDING
 ONLY MULTIPLE ITEM CATEGORIES

Categories of Independent Variables	Rank	Mean Number of Signi- ficant Relationships	Number of Items per Category
Pre-Migration Social Class	1	56.3	3
Indices of Cultural Exposure	2	56.0	4
Interpersonal Interaction Indices	3	51.2	4
Demographic Variables	4	49.5	2
Personality Measures	4	49.5	4
Ecological Variables	5	41.3	3
Canadian Social Class	6	39.0	4
Sources of Information	7	21.0	6

exposure--less sources of information--ranks second. Interpersonal interaction ranks third, followed by the personality variables and the demographic variables which are tied for fourth rank. The ecological variables, Canadian social class, and sources of information categories follow in that order. Clearly the Italian social class background, cultural exposure--including especially the reading of English publications--the kinds of interpersonal relationships immigrants have in this country with Italian and non-Italian friends and relatives, and the personality characteristics of the immigrants are of predominant importance in influencing their accommodation to Canada. Age and sex of immigrants also affects their adjustment to this country and, on the other hand, it is equally clear that the sources of information of which immigrants avail themselves, and their Canadian social class standings, and the part of Italy from which they come are far less frequently associated with the accommodation indices.

II. FREQUENCY OF ASSOCIATION OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

We have looked briefly at the frequency with which the independent variable items were associated significantly with the dependent variables. We shall now consider the frequency with which items in the various criterion areas of this study--the various aspects of adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc.--were significantly associated with the independent variables. In Table III is found a ranking of these criterion areas by the proportion of items in each area which were

TABLE III

RANKING OF AREAS OF ACCOMMODATION IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGE OF SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Area of Accommodation	Rank	Percentage of Significant Relationships	Number of Items per Area
Economic Adjustment	1	62.2	7
Linguistic Adjustment	2	60.6	5
Social Integration	3	56.4	12
Political Integration	4	52.9	7
Assimilation	5	51.1	11
Acculturation	6	50.0	12
Ecological Integration	7	48.5	2
Satisfaction	8	46.5	10
Social Adjustment	9	45.6	4
Religious Integration	10	35.3	1
Personal Adjustment	11	34.2	11
Economic Integration	12	31.4	12

significantly associated with the independent variables, redundant and spurious associations having been eliminated. The range is from economic adjustment at the top with almost two-thirds of all of the non-spurious relationships between the component items and the independent variables being significant, to economic integration in the lowest ranking position with less than one-third of the non-spurious relationships significant.

The ranking which is found in the table is perhaps rather as would be expected, in the light of the ranking of independent variables by association power considered above. We found that the most powerful items were those having to do with education, mastery of English, relationships with non-Italians, low chauvinism, participation, duration of Canadian residence, etc. The ranking in Table III shows that these powerful items most frequently are associated with economic adjustment, with linguistic adjustment (even with redundant items eliminated) with social integration, political integration, assimilation, etc. That is, subjects high on educational attainment and English reading proficiency, who have relationships with non-Italians not only have a good economic adjustment, but are high on political integration and assimilative tendencies as well.

At the low end of the ranking continuum, however, the independent variables used in this study were but little associated with personal adjustment, religious integration, and economic integration, etc. The implication of this is that although these areas are somewhat associated with the independent variables we investigated, significant relationships are more meagre. It appears that the kind of personal

adjustment an immigrant makes to a new country, whether he chooses to "remain loyal" to his mother tongue church or joins another, how much he lets his economic activities be influenced by ethnic loyalties, etc., must be significantly influenced by factors other than those which we have investigated in the present study.

Fortunately it was not possible in this study to make more rigorous analysis of the predictive power of the independent variables relative to the various criterion categories. The computer program which was available for analysis of the data was able to compute only an approximation of the product moment correlation coefficient from chi square, and that only when the table had more than four cells. Accordingly a systematic correlational analysis of the predictive power of the independent variables, and of the extent to which the variance in the dependent variable categories was predicted by the independent variables, could not be made.

III. SEX DIFFERENCES

10.1. The Independent Variables. In view of the differences described in Chapter IX between men and women in significant relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variables it would be expected that there would be differences in the total number of significant associations between the sexes for some of the independent variables. Table IV shows that this is indeed the case. In this table are found the total number of significant associations with the dependent variables for each independent variable, for men and for women, together with the rank order positions of these variables for men and for women,

TABLE IV

RANKINGS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN TERMS OF FREQUENCIES OF SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS WITH INDICES
OF ACCOMMODATION FOR MALES AND FEMALES, WITH RANK DIFFERENCES

Independent Variables	Rank Positions		Rank Differences		Number of Significant Associations	
	Male	Female	Male High	Female High	Male	Female
English-Italian Magazines	1	1	0	0	50	44
English Newspapers	2	2	0	0	42	35
Non-Italian Close Friends	4	2		2	39	36
Primary Relationships with Italians	4	25	21		39	8
Education	5	3		2	37	34
Ego-Stimulus Intermediacy	6	14	8		35	22
Chauvinism	8	12½	4½		34	23
Relatives in Edmonton	8	16	8		34	19
Least Italian Occupation	8	22	14		34	13
Nationalization	10	7		3	31	22
Homosexualities	11	9		2	30	25
Area of Italian Origin	12	15	3		29	20
Alienation	13½	8		5½	27	27
Current Canadian Occupation	13½	20	6½		27	14
Duration of Canadian Residence	15½	4½		11	26	33
Mobility Comparison with Italian Job	15½	20	4½		26	34
Mobility Comparison with Father	15½	17	0	0	25	17
Living in Italian Community	17	10½		7½	24	24
Dogmatism	18	12½		7	23	23
Place (Current) Occupation	19½	24	4½		23	9
Occupation of Father	19½	6		15½	21	30
Church Source of Information	21½	23	1½		21	10
Italian Newspapers	23	26½	3½		18	5
Depth of Knowledge of Italian Culture	24	26½	2½		16	5
People Source of Information	25	18		7	13	16
Number of Sources of Information	26	10½		15½	11	24
Number of Sources of Information	27	20		7	8	14

and the rank differences. It is immediately apparent that the independent variables are much more frequently significantly associated with the dependent variables for men than for women. Of the 1566 possibly significant relationships for each sex group (there being 56 dependent variables and 27 independent variables used in the sex specific tabulations) 744 were significant for men and 546 were significant for women. One important reason for this is that economic adjustment, which was the dependent variable category more frequently associated with the independent variables than any other, clearly depends primarily upon masculine activity, and is far more closely associated with masculine characteristics than with feminine characteristics.

In this section we are interested in the sex differences in significant association of independent variables with dependent variables. In order to render irrelevant the fact that there are far more significant associations for men than for women, the various independent variables were ranked for each sex group by the number of significant associations of each with the accommodation variables. The sex differences in significant association of the independent variables may then be determined in terms of the rank differences. This is the procedures which was followed in calculating the rank differences in Table IV, and the discussion which follows is based on these rank differences. We shall discuss the information presented in the table, commenting first on those variables where the rank differences are low, and then on those where the rank differences are high.

The range of rank differences between the ranks for men and those for women is from zero to twenty-one rank places. For 11 of

of the 27 independent variables--for which chi squares of relationship with 56 dependent variable items were calculated for men and for women--the rank differences were less than four rank' places. Four of the first five ranking independent variables are included in this group of 11: English papers and magazines, education, and close non-Italian friends. Thus it is apparent that the most important independent variables in terms of their frequency of association with the accommodation variables, reading of English, high educational attainments, and friendships with non-Italians, are equally significant for both sex groups. Naturalization which ranks tenth for men and seventh for women, and neuroticism which ranks eleventh for men and ninth for women, are also clearly important for both sex groups, as is Northern or Southern Italian background, which ranks twelfth for men and fifteenth for women. The remaining four of the eleven low rank difference independent variables are far less often significantly associated with the accommodation variables for both men and women: reading Italian newspapers, school and church as sources of important information, and the man's mobility in comparison with the father.

If we turn to the high rank difference independent variables we find a number which are much more relatively frequently associated with the accommodation variables for one sex group than for the other. We shall discuss those independent variables first which are relatively more frequently associated with the dependent variables for man than for women, and then those which are relatively more frequently associated for women.

There are five independent variables which are more often associated with the dependent variables for men than for women by at least five rank places. In increasing rank order these are:

- (1) primary relationships with Italians (21 rank differences),
- (2) level of the man's last occupation in Italy ($14\frac{1}{2}$ rank differences),
- (3) intermarriage of self or siblings (eight rank differences),
- (4) having relatives in Edmonton (eight rank differences), and
- (5) level of the man's current occupation (six and one half rank differences).

If the reader recalls very clearly the material from the last chapter, it is quite clear that this pattern of differences was adumbrated there. A frequent finding in the data reported there was that close relationships with Italians and having relatives in Edmonton were inversely associated with indices of accommodation to Canadian life for men but not for women, and that intermarriage was often directly associated with such indices for men but not for women. Likewise the items deal with the man's occupational level in Italy and in Canada, were more frequently associated with criterion items for men than for women.

In brief, then, what these sex differences in favor of the men point to is the greater significance of attenuated relationships with other Italians, of intermarriage, and of occupational achievements both in Italy and in Canada for the accommodation of men than of women to Canadian society.

There are eight independent variables which are relatively more often associated with the dependent variables for women by at least five rank places than for men. In increasing rank order these are

- (1) duration of residence in Canada (11 rank differences),
- (2) occupation

of the father ($15\frac{1}{2}$ rank differences), (3) alienation score (five and one half rank differences), (4) living in the Italian community (seven and one half rank differences), (5) number of sources of information ($15\frac{1}{2}$ rank differences), (6) Dogmatism scores (seven rank differences), (7) people as a source of important information (seven rank differences), and (8) frequency of church attendance (seven rank differences). Again the reader will recall that this pattern was foreshadowed in the data presented in Chapter IX. Occupation of the father--an ascribed characteristic--was more important for women, whereas achieved characteristics were more often associated with the accommodation indices for men. Duration of residence in Canada was important for women, but not for men because the more ambitious and those with more appropriate education could surge ahead of those less well prepared, making duration less relevant. This suggests a more passive process of accommodation as characteristic of women. The significance of number of sources of information for Italian women points to the fact that whereas the men are almost unavoidably thrown in contact with many sources of information this is not so for women, who may remain sheltered, almost entombed by her unfamiliarity with the language and other skills needed for adjustment to Canadian society. Living in the Italian community is relatively more frequently inversely associated with accommodation to Canadian society for women than for men probably because living in the community is less isolating for men than women. Men are more frequently forced to leave the community for work and union meetings, whereas many women may have very few occasions for leaving the community. Citing people as a source of important information is also more frequently

associated inversely with accommodation to Canadian society for women than for men for largely the same reasons. The men who cite "people" will usually have other, less limiting sources of information; the women who cite "people" will tend to be more dependent on people whose contact with the larger community is often very restricted.

Frequency of church attendance is much more frequently directly associated with accommodation to Canadian society for women than for men, because although for men church does not provide a very broadening set of contacts in contrast to others readily available to them, for women it does provide contacts which are relatively broadening. The absolute frequencies of association of dogmatism and of alienation with the dependent variables is the same for both men and women. Both variables are inversely associated with accommodation variables. Since the total number of significant relationships between independent and dependent variables is less for women than men these two variables are relatively more frequently associated with accommodation variables for the women. The reason for this would appear to be that high alienation and dogmatism scores tend to be associated with non-accommodation, as we have seen in Chapter IX. The sex roles of Italian men tend to make for more contact with many aspects of Canadian society than do the sex roles of Italian women. Under these circumstances it is demanding of more effort on the part of women to become accommodated to Canadian society than on the part of men because their sex role

structures against it. It seems probable that it is the less dogmatic, and less alienated of Italian women who would make this greater effort. These personality characteristics would be less relatively important for the men because the obstacles to their outreach into Canadian society are not so severe.

In summary, it is clear that there are few differences in relative significance (as measured only by frequency of significant association) of the top ranking independent variables; reading English publications, education, and close non-Italian friends are frequently associated with the accommodation indices for both men and women. However, there are a number of striking differences in the relative importance of certain independent and dependent variables for men and women. There are six independent variables which are more often associated with the criterion variables for men by at least five rank places than for women, and there are eight independent variables which are similarly more often associated with accommodation variables for women than for men. The following generalizations may be made on the basis of these sex differences. Close relationships with relatives are inversely associated, and intermarriage is directly associated with accommodation for men but not for women, apparently because such relationships are associated with continued chauvinistic identification for men, but for women they are apparently not so restrictive. Variables indicative of active achievement, level of occupation in Italy and in Canada, are directly associated with accommodation for men, whereas more passivity implying variables--that is "things that happen to one", such as residing in Canada for a long time or having a higher class

father--are more associated with accommodation for women. Finally there are a number of variables which are apparently relatively more frequently associated with criterion variables for women than for men apparently because of the more limited opportunities which Italian women have for contact with Canadian society in contrast with men. Thus, living in the Italian community and citing "people" as a source of important information are more importantly inversely associated with accommodation variables, for women than for men because men have other, broader compensating contacts. Number of sources of information and frequency of church attendance are relatively more frequently directly associated with accommodation for women than for men, because they lack other important opportunities which men have. And dogmatism and alienation are more frequently inversely associated with accommodation for women than for men perhaps because women low on these variables are better able to overcome the restrictions of their sex roles, whereas men have less need for personality characteristics facilitating outreach because their sex roles provide them with greater opportunities.

Thus the independent variables which are more frequently significant for Italian men are those involving relinquishment of relationships with fellow Italians which involve ties with the past, and involving exercise of initiative and achievement. Those relatively more frequently significant for Italian women are influences which happen to them, rather than which they make happen, and are limited

opportunities, which are less relatively significant for men because they have greater opportunities, or personality characteristics which may aid in circumvention of limited opportunities.

10.2 The Dependent Variable Categories. In the preceding section we examined sex differences in the number of significant associations which the independent variables had with the dependent variables. In this section our interest is in the sex differences in the number of significant associations which the component variables of each of the types of accommodation which we have been concerned with (assimilation, social adjustment, satisfaction, etc.) have with the independent variables. The relevant data are found in Table V which shows the total number of significant associations with the independent variables for each dependent variable category, expressed as a percentage of the total possible number of associations (since the number of component items varies) for men and for women. Again the rank order positions of these dependent variable categories for men and for women, and the rank differences between them, are included in the table.

It is, of course, again apparent that the dependent variables are much more frequently significantly associated with the independent variables for men than for women. The proportion of total possible significant associations which were actually significant for men was 44.2 percent and for women it was 34.1. The reasons are, of course, the same as those discussed above. Again, in order to render irrelevant the fact that there are more significant associations for men than for women, the various accommodation categories were ranked for each sex

TABLE V

RAUPTICS OF AREAS OF ACCOMMODATION IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGES OF SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS WITH
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH RANK DIFFERENCES

Accommodation areas	Number of Variables	Rank Positions		Rank Differences		Percentage of Signifi- cant associations	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Economic Integration	1	1	10	9		66.7	29.6
Political Integration	5	2	1		1	57.0	56.3
Religious Integration	1	3	12	9		55.6	14.8
Social Integration	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4		$\frac{1}{2}$	50.0	43.1
Economic Adjustment	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6		1 $\frac{1}{2}$	50.0	38.0
Linguistic Integration	3	6	8	2		45.7	34.6
Personal Adjustment	4	7	2		5	45.4	49.7
Acculturation	10	8	9	1		41.5	31.9
Ecological Integration	2	9	5		4	37.0	38.9
Acculturation	12	10	11	1		34.5	23.4
Satisfaction	7	11	7		4	32.8	35.4
Social Adjustment	1	12	3		9	25.9	48.1
Total	58					44.2	34.1

group by the proportion of significant associations of the component variables of each with the independent variables. The sex differences in significant associations of the accommodation categories may thus be determined in terms of rank differences. This is the procedure which was followed in calculating the rank differences in Table V and the discussion which follows is based on these rank differences. Again we shall discuss the information presented in the table, commenting first on those categories where the rank differences are low, and then on those where the rank differences are high.

For six of the twelve accommodation categories, the rank difference between the men and women in the sample in ranking of relative frequency of association with the independent variables was two rank places or less. These areas, ordered from low to high in order of their combined male female rank order are (1) political integration (one rank difference), (2) social integration (one half rank difference), (3) economic adjustment (one and one half rank difference), (4) linguistic integration (two rank differences), (5) assimilation (one rank difference), (6) acculturation (one rank difference).

This pattern of similarly ranking accommodation areas suggest the following explanation. In all six areas the proportion of significant relationships with the independent variables is higher for the men than for the women. The differential is least for political integration where the proportions are 57.0 and 56.3 per cent. It is greatest for economic adjustment where the proportions are 50.0 and 40.0 per cent.

per cent, for linguistic integration and acculturation where the differential is 11.1 per cent in both cases (45.7 and 34.6 per cent for men and women in the first case, 34.5 and 23.4 per cent for men and women in the second case), and for assimilation where the proportions are 41.5 and 31.9 per cent. It would appear from the comments on the political apathy of the Italian community members that perhaps both Italian men and women tend to start from the same position of uninvolvedness in politics, and that involvement has the same pattern of correlates (higher class Italian background, reading English publications, fewer relationships with Italian friends and relatives, and more with non-Italian friends and relatives, low chauvinism, low personality maladjustment indicators, etc.), for both men and women. For the remaining five low rank difference areas, although the proportion of significant relationships between the independent variables and the area indices is higher for men than for women, the rank positions are quite similar. Apparently either the correlations between these sets of variables--where they are significant--are higher for women than for men, or there are other independent variables, not indexed in the present study, which are more powerfully related to the criterion variables for women than for men. At any rate, however, in general the independent variables which are significantly related to the dependent variables for these low rank difference areas are largely the same for men as for women. In linguistic integration, assimilation, acculturation, and social integration (with non-Italians) as in political integration, the correlates of the accommodation tend to higher class Italian background, reading English publications, fewer

relationships with Italian friends and relatives and more with non-Italian friends and relatives, low chauvinism, and low personality maladjustment indicators, for both men and women though the frequency of significant association is higher for men than for women. In economic adjustment also, the correlates again tend to be a less extreme form of this same pattern for men, and yet less consistently, for women. The reasons why even this pattern of significant associations should be so largely the same for men and women are (1) although we think of economic adjustment as being largely a masculine responsibility among Italians it is far more a family enterprise with women often making a significant contribution, and (2) marital homogamy probably results in considerable similarity between husbands and wives, at least in respect to the variables which are significantly associated with the indices of economic adjustment.

Thus, there are reasons why the correlates of these six low rank difference areas--political, linguistic, and social integration, assimilation, acculturation and economic adjustment/are similar for the men and women in the sample. When we turn to the high rank difference accommodation areas we find a number which are much more relatively frequently associated with the independent variables for one sex group than for the other. We shall first discuss those areas which are more frequently associated with the independent variables for the men than for the women, and then those which are relatively more frequently associated for women.

There are two accommodation areas which are more often associated with the independent variables for men than for women by at least four rank places. These are economic integration and religious integration

and the ranking of these areas in terms of number of significant associations with dependent variables was nine places higher for men than for women in both cases. It should be noted that each of these areas in this sex difference comparison are indexed by a single item, so the stability of the ranking may be less than for other areas which include more index items. However the reasons for this ranking discrepancy may be recalled from the preceding chapter. Patronage of Italian stores (economic non-integration) was apparently far more frequently defined as a loyalty issue by Italian men than by Italian women (whose choices were apparently more frequently conditioned by convenience and economic considerations) and thus for men economic integration was associated with many more indicators of acculturation and assimilation than was the case with women. Similarly, we noted in the previous chapter that religious integration for men was associated with many more indicators of acculturation and assimilation than for women. We suggested that there was reason to believe that where a family went to a non-Italian Catholic church it was more often the men who made this decision than his wife. Thus religious integration is more frequently associated with his characteristics than with hers.

There are four accommodation areas which are relatively more often associated with the independent variables for women by at least four rank places than for men. These areas, in order of increasing rank (for women) are (1) personal adjustment (five rank differences), (2) social adjustment (nine rank differences), (3) ecological integration (four rank differences), and (4) satisfaction with life in Canada (four rank differences). The explanations for these differences were all

anticipated in the preceding chapter. In the case of ecological integration the explanation is that there are no significant differences: the correlates of ecological integration are very similar for men and women. Accordingly, because in most of the accommodation there were more correlates for men than for women, ecological integration has a higher rank ordering for women than for men, but it is only because the pattern of associations with independent variable items is so similar for both sex groups.

In many respects the correlates of personal adjustment were similar for both men and women, also. But in the case of women the indices of higher social class and of Canadianization were slightly more frequently and less consistently associated with personal adjustment indices than was true for men. The result appears to be that these independent variables are more often associated with indications of maladjustment for women than for men: that successful Canadianization may be more disorganizing for women than for men.

This relationship is reversed in the case of social adjustment. Social adjustment as indexed by number of friends for women with more independent variables, especially those indicative of moderate (not extreme) Canadianization, whereas for men it is more associated with indices of non-accommodation to Canadian society. Similarly for women satisfaction with life in Canada is associated with this same pattern of emancipation from the traditional pattern of restriction to the home, and moderate Canadianization. For the men on the other hand, satisfaction with life in Canada is associated with indicators of

peasant background, and accordingly, with indicators of relatively poor accommodation to Canadian society.

In summary, there are few differences between the men and women in the sample in the correlates of accommodation in the following areas: social, linguistic, and political integration, assimilation, acculturation, economic adjustment and ecological integration. In the first five the independent variables associated with successful accommodation in these areas tend to be the same for both sexes: higher class Italian background, reading English publications, fewer relationships with Italian friends and relatives and more with non-Italian friends and relatives, low chauvinism, low personality maladjustment indicators. In the last two, the pattern tends to be similar, although less unambiguously so. There are relatively many more associations of independent variables with two areas for men than for women: economic integration and religious integration. In the first case the men in the sample appeared to define this as a loyalty test whereas the women did not. In the second place religious integration was associated with more indicators of successful Canadianization for men than for women, apparently because the decision as to where the family will attend church is apparently more frequently made by the man.

There appears to be the greatest differences between the men and women in the sample in patterns of association between independent variables and the adjustment and satisfaction areas. Although sex differences are not numerous in the area of personal adjustment, for men adjustment is directly associated with successful Canadianization whereas for women the relationship appears to be curvilinear such that more extreme Canadianization is associated with some indications of

personal maladjustment. Social adjustment and satisfaction are both directly associated with Canadianization and emancipation from traditional patterns for women, whereas for men these are more frequently inverse relationships.

IV. SUMMARY

Having made a detailed presentation of the total sample and the sex specific findings of this study in the previous five chapters, in this chapter we have sought to pull together the findings from the earlier sections into a general picture of the relative significance of the independent and the correlatability of the dependent variables with which we have worked in this study. This has been done both for the total sample and for the sex specific analyses. These findings may be briefly summarized.

The independent variable categories are ranked from high to low for the total sample in terms of the average number of significant relationships with criterion variables per item in the following order: Italian social status, cultural exposure (less sources of information), interpersonal relationships, personality variables, demographic variables, pre-migration ecological variables, Canadian occupational class, and sources of information.

Again for the total sample, the various areas of accommodation may be ranked in terms of the frequency with which their component items were on the average significantly associated with the independent variable items. This ranking from high to low is as follows: economic adjustment, linguistic integration, social integration, political integration, assimilation, acculturation, ecological integration,

satisfaction, social adjustment, religious integration, personal adjustment, and economic integration.

The sex specific analyses showed that many of the independent variables tended to be associated with the accommodation indices in comparable ways for the male and female sub-samples, but that certain of them were more frequently associated for the men, and some were for the women. There were many more significant associations between the independent and the dependent variables for the men than for the women, the figures being 747 and 577 respectively. Accordingly the sex comparisons were made in terms of the relative frequencies of associations, by comparing the rank orderings of the independent variable items.

There were three or fewer rank place differences between the rankings of men and of women for eleven of the 27 independent variable items: reading English newspapers and magazines, level of education, close non-Italian friends, naturalization, Northern or Southern Italian background, reading Italian newspapers, school and church as sources of important information, level of the man's first job in Canada, and man's mobility in comparison with the father. Six independent variables are more often associated with the dependent variables for men than for women by at least five rank places: closeness of relations with Italians, man's last Italian occupational level, intermarriage of self or siblings, relatives in Edmonton, man's current occupational level, occupational mobility in comparison with the last Italian job. Eight independent variables are more often associated with the dependent variables for women than for men by at least five rank places: duration of Canadian residence, occupation of father, living in the Italian community,

alienation and dogmatism scores, number of sources of information, people as a source of important information, and frequency of church attendance.

The average frequency with which the items in the various areas of accommodation were associated with the independent variables were also analyzed in terms of male-female differences in the same way. Again, since there were many more significant associations between the independent and the dependent variables for men than for women, the sex comparisons were made in terms of relative frequencies of associations, by comparing the rank orderings of the accommodation areas for men and women. For six of these 12 areas the rank differences between the men and the women in the ranking of these areas was two rank places or less. These areas were political integration, social integration, economic adjustment, linguistic integration, assimilation, and acculturation. Two of the accommodation areas were more often associated with the independent variables for men than for women by at least four rank places: economic integration and religious integration. The remaining four accommodation areas were relatively more often associated with the independent variables for women than for men by at least four rank places: personal adjustment, social adjustment, ecological integration and satisfaction with life in Canada.

Some reasons for the total sample rankings of the independent and the dependent variables, and for the sex differences in rankings of these variables were discussed in the body of the chapter.

This concludes this gross associational analysis of the relationships between the independent and the dependent variables which were

studied in this research. In the next chapter we shall make a much more limited, but more precise analysis of the relative power of a few independent variables in predicting two indices of accommodation to Canadian society.

Errata:

THERE IS NO PAGE 475

CHAPTER XI

THE DETERMINANTS OF ACCOMMODATION: A FACTORIAL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The analysis which has been presented in this report so far has involved the cross-tabulation of many independent variables against many dependent variables, variously classified into areas of accommodation, and testing the resulting distributions by means of the chi square statistic in order to determine whether there was a statistically significant association between the two variables. The result of this procedure is that we have presented long and no doubt tedious lists of independent variables which were significantly associated with different classes of dependent variables. As a result, a picture has emerged rather clearly of various patterns of Italian immigrant characteristics which are associated with various kinds of adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc., both for the sample as a whole and for the male and female portions of the sample comparatively. However, we have thus far not been able to say anything systematically about the strength of association between different variables. Furthermore, although it has been rather clearly apparent that there is a great deal of overlap between some of the independent variables--as between level of educational attainment and reading of English publications, or between Southern Italian origins and frequency of association with relatives, for example--and although in parts of the discussion we have assumed that such were the case, we have not been able to say anything

about the underlying factors which both the independent and the dependent variables may be indexing.

In the present chapter we shall present a partial solution to both of these problems; partial because it was not possible to apply the procedures here reported to all of either the independent or the dependent variables. The solution to the first problem cited above, determination of the comparative strength of association between different variables, involved application of a multiple regression analysis technique. This procedure is a powerful tool in the investigation of relationships between independent and dependent variables which has a number of distinct advantages: (1) since the data can be treated in either a continuous or categorical fashion there is no need for the establishment of arbitrary cutting points; (2) controls for the determination of the relative strength of independent variables can be applied statistically rather than through subdivision of the sample, with the result that the controlled analysis is based on a much larger sample than would otherwise be the case; and (3) relationships between variables are signified by means of F values, a more powerful statistic than other alternatives.

The problem of overlap between many of the variables which have been used in this analysis was solved for a minority of the variables which have been used in this study through use of the principle axis method of factor analysis. This method determines the degree of commonality among the cluster of variables which are being factor analyzed and identified the various underlying factors which the variables collectively index. Eigen values which are indicative of the exploratory

capacity of the factors are also obtained in this procedure. The relative importance of the various factors is indicated in the course of this procedure, and thus bases are provided for the selection of factors to be considered.

Unfortunately it was not possible to apply this powerful technique to all of the categories of independent and dependent variables with which we have worked in this study. Factor analysis was applied to two sets of variables; to the personality measures in their capacity as independent variables, and to a cluster of accommodation measures, that is, to one grouping of dependent variables.

In the investigation reported in this chapter these two clusters of variables were first factor analyzed, with the identification, as a result, of two independent variable factors and two dependent variable factors. Two multiple regression analyses were then performed, one for each of the dependent variable factors which was identified through factor analysis. In these regression analyses, the dependent variables included the two identified through factor analysis and a number of others not identified through use of this technique.

On the pages which follow we shall first describe briefly the results of the factor analysis, and then of the regression analysis procedures. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the significance of the findings.

THE FACTOR ANALYSIS

A factor analysis was performed on the personality variables and accommodation variables to determine if there were factors common to the

variables in each of these clusters. A further question which we are interested in is whether these factors would incorporate the effects (relevant to this study) of the variables from which they were derived. This question could only be answered by means of comparison of a multiple regression analysis of the unfactored variables with a multiple regression analysis of the factored variables, and this comparison was, in fact, made.

Factor Analysis of the Personality Variables. The personality variables which were factor analyzed consisted of five scores: the alienation, anomie, dogmatism, neuroticism, and extroversion scores. The procedure used was the principle axis method of factor analysis which begins with a product moment correlation coefficient matrix. This matrix for the five personality measures is found in Table I.

The eigen values which emerged for five possible factors were 1.939, 1.042, 0.857, 0.649, and 0.514. Following the principle that only factors having eigen values above 1 explain more than variables themselves, two factors appear significant although even they explain only 38.6 per cent and 20.8 per cent of the variance respectively.

A factor analysis by the principle axis method was performed on the five personality variables relating them to these two possible factors. The loading of each variable in each of these two factors is indicated in Table II. It will be noted that the square of each factor loading is equal to the commonalities or the percentage of variation in each variable which the factors together explain.

Personality factors I and II together explain a portion of the

TABLE I
CORRELATION MATRIX FOR FOUR PERSONALITY MEASURES, WITH PROBABILITIES

	Alienation	Anomie	Dogmatism	Extroversion
Anomie	$r = .297$ <u>$P \text{ less } .05$</u>			
Dogmatism	$r = .421$ <u>$P \text{ less } .05$</u>	$r = .284$ <u>$P \text{ less } .05$</u>		
Extroversion	$r = .004$ <u>$P \text{ greater } .05$</u>	$r = .084$ <u>$P \text{ greater } .05$</u>	$r = .158$ <u>$P \text{ less } .05$</u>	
Neuroticism	$r = .405$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = .124$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = .271$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = .012$ $P \text{ greater } .05$

TABLE II
COMMONALITIES AND LOADINGS OF FOUR PERSONALITY VARIABLES ON
PERSONALITY FACTORS I AND II

	Commonalities	Personality	
		Factor I	Factor II
Anomie	0.372	0.575	0.204
Neuroticism	0.522	0.633	0.349
Extroversion	0.834	0.188	0.894
Dogmatism	0.577	0.742	0.161
Alienation	0.676	0.789	0.232
Sum	2.981	1.939	1.042
Total Explained Variation	59.6%	38.8%	20.8%

variation in each variable. Table III presents the total proportion explained and the proportion which each factor explains. The total variation in the personality variables which is explained by factors I and II is 59.6 per cent. Personality Factor I explains 38.8 per cent of the total variation and Factor II explains 20.8 per cent. The contribution of each personality variable to the total explained by the two factors is indicated in Table IV.

The personality variables are plotted on Figure I with respect to their loadings in relation to each factor.

The above tables indicate clearly the possibility of including the five personality variables in the two factors. Extroversion weights predominantly in Factor II with the other four making little contribution. Since Factor II is constituted largely of extroversion it will be referred to as the Extroversion Factor. Factor I is constituted largely of anomie, alienation, dogmatism and neuroticism in proportions ranging from 17 per cent to 32.1 per cent, alienation being the highest contributor and anomie the lowest.

The next step after the identification of the principle personality variable factors, Factors I and II, was the calculation of factor scores for each of these two factors, for each of the 418 members of the study sample for whom sufficient data were available to permit making the calculation. This was done in the case of Factor I as follows: the individual personality scores were weighted by the appropriate variable weights found in Table IV for Factor I, for each sample member, and these weighted scores were summed to obtain a factor score. However, since the personality variables--anomie, alienation, dogmatism, and

TABLE III

PROPORTIONS OF THE VARIANCE OF THE PERSONALITY VARIABLES EXPLAINED
BY FACTORS I AND II, INDIVIDUALLY AND JOINTLY

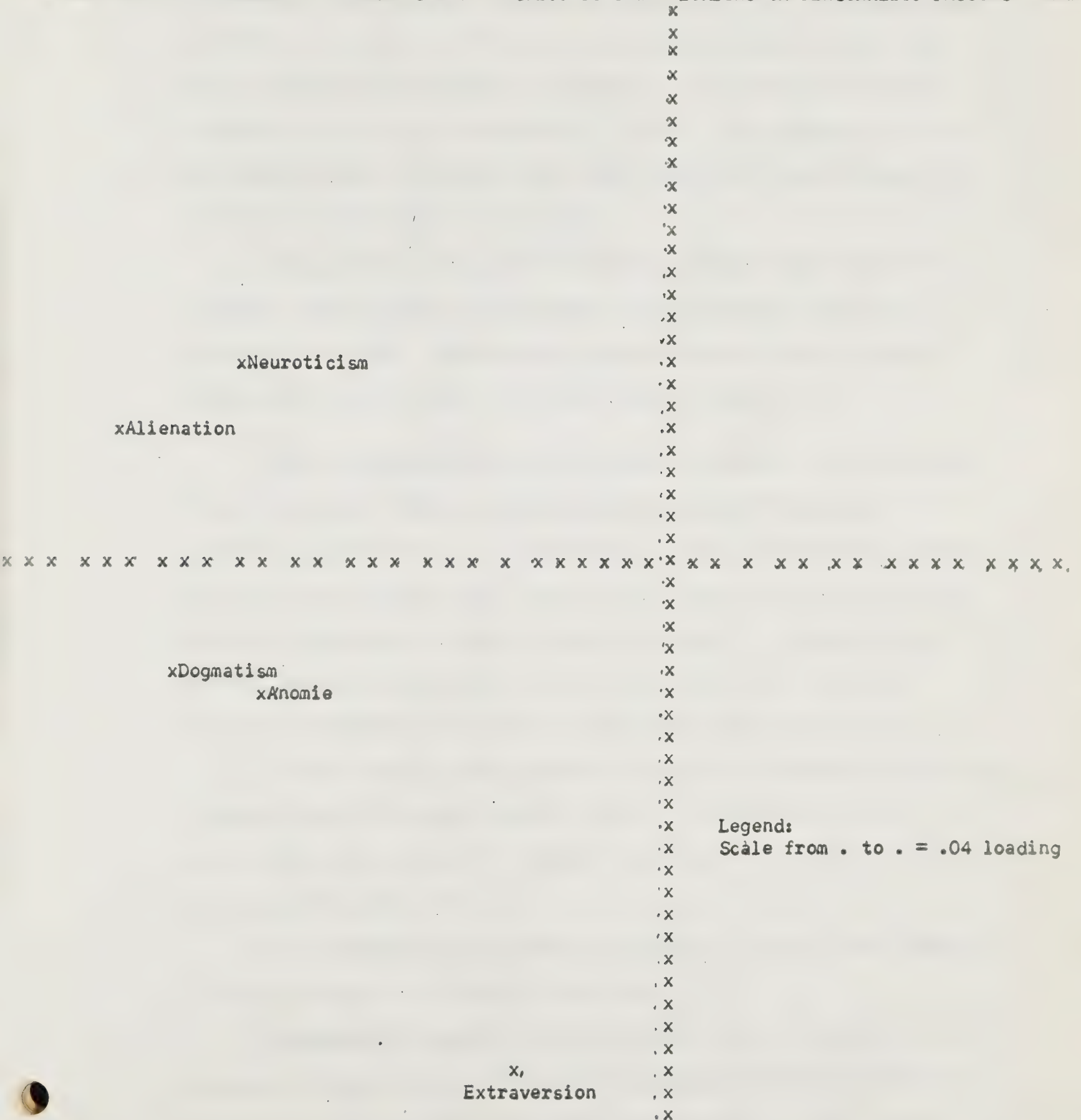
	Proportion of Variable Explained by Factors I and II together	Proportion Explained by Factor I	Proportion Explained By Factor II
Anomie	37.2%	33.1%	4.1%
Neuroticism	52.2%	40.1%	12.1%
Extroversion	83.4%	3.2%	80.2%
Dogmatism	57.7%	55.0%	2.7%
Alienation	67.6%	62.3%	5.3%

TABLE IV
CONTRIBUTION OF EACH OF PERSONALITY VARIABLES TO TOTAL VARIANCE
EXPLAINED BY PERSONALITY FACTORS I AND II

	Factor I	Factor II
Anomie	17.1%	4.2%
Alienation	32.1%	5.3%
Dogmatism	28.4%	2.4%
Extroversion	1.8%	76.4%
Neuroticism	20.7%	11.7%
	100.1%	100.0%

FIGURE I

PLOTTING OF PERSONALITY VARIABLES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR LOADING ON PERSONALITY FACTORS I AND II



neuroticism—all represent the maladjustment end of an adjustment-maladjustment continuum, the Factor I scores were reversed, so that the higher scores were indicative of adjustment. In consequence of its components and of this transformation, Factor I. is referred to as the Adjustment Factor. The scores were also adjusted so that the mean was 50 and the standard deviation is 10.

Factor scores for Factor II, the Extroversion Factor were not obtained since as Table IV indicated, its Extroversion weighting is already 76 per cent. Accordingly, the Extroversion scores of sample members were used as Factor II scores without modification.

Factor Analysis of the Accommodation Variables. Five accommodation indices were factor analyzed: the rejection of Italianism, chauvinism, participation and satisfaction scores, and mobility compared with the first Canadian job. The first step was again the construction of a correlation matrix which is found in Table V. The eigen values for the possible factors were 1.403, 1.033, .935, .881, and .748. Again the indication is that two factors are probably significant.

A factor analysis was performed on the five accommodation variables relating them to these two possible factors. The loading of each variable in each of these two factors according to the varimax rotation is indicated in Table VI.

The accommodation variables are plotted on Figure II with respect to their loadings in relation to each factor.

Accommodation Factors I and II together explain a portion of the variation in each variable. Table VII indicates the total proportion of variation explained of each accommodation variable. Note that the

TABLE V
CORRELATION MATRIX OF FOUR ACCOMMODATION VARIABLES, WITH PROBABILITY LEVELS

	Chauvinism	Downward Mobility	Involvement	Satisfaction
Downward Mobility	$r = 0.091$ $P \text{ less } .05$			
Involvement	$r = 0.155$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = 0.123$ $P \text{ less } .05$		
Satisfaction	$r = 0.035$ $P \text{ greater } .05$	$r = 0.033$ $P \text{ greater } .05$	$r = 0.051$ $P \text{ greater } .05$	
Rejection	$r = 0.115$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = 0.038$ $P \text{ greater } .05$	$r = 0.232$ $P \text{ less } .05$	$r = 0.037$ $P \text{ greater } .05$

TABLE VI
COMMONALITIES AND LOADINGS OF FOUR ACCOMMODATION VARIABLES ON INTEGRATION
FACTORS I AND II

	Commonalities	Accommodation	
		Factor I	Factor II
Rejection	0.428	0.642	0.128
Chauvinism	0.316	0.551	0.108
Involvement	0.516	0.718	0.040
Satisfaction	0.654	0.240	0.772
Mobility	0.522	0.334	0.641
	2.436	1.400	1.037
Variance Explained	48.6%	28.0%	20.6%

FIGURE II
PLOTING OF INTEGRATION VARIABLES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR LOADING ON INTE-
GRATION FACTORS I AND II

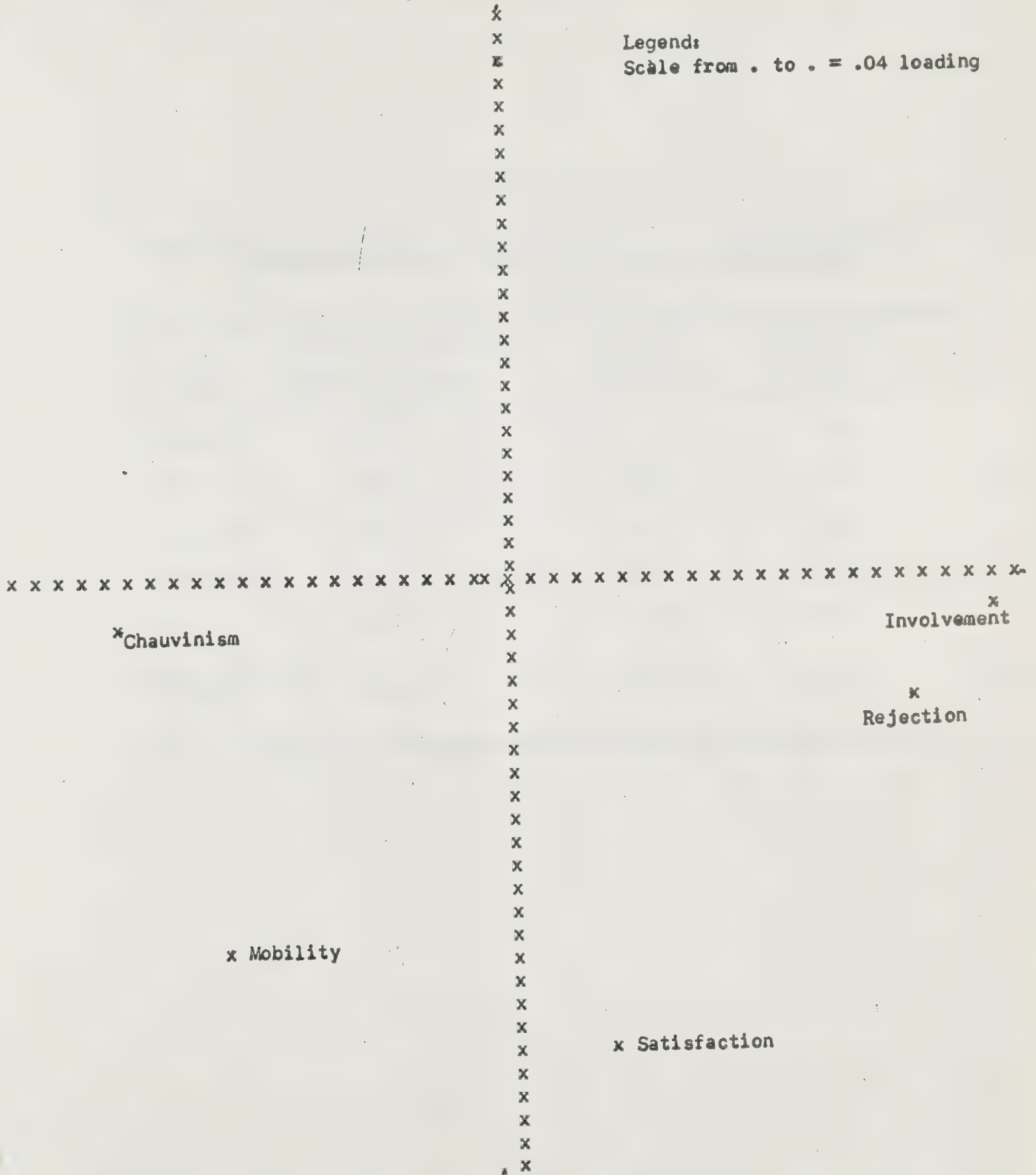


TABLE VII

PROPORTIONS OF THE VARIANCE OF THE INTEGRATION VARIABLES EXPLAINED BY
INTEGRATION FACTORS I AND II, INDIVIDUALLY AND JOINTLY

Variable	Proportion Explained by Factors I and II	Proportion Explained by Factor I	Proportion Explained by Factor II
Rejection	42.8%	41.4%	1.4%
Chauvinism	31.6%	30.6%	1.0%
Involvement	51.6%	51.1%	0.5%
Satisfaction	65.4%	5.7%	59.7%
Mobility	52.2%	11.3%	40.9%
Total Variation Explained	48.6%	28.0%	20.6%

portion explained is the square of the weight indicated in Table VI. The total variance explained by Factors I and II together is 48.6 per cent. Factor I explains 28.0 per cent and Factor II, 30.6 per cent.

The contribution of each of the accommodation variables to the total amount of variance explained by accommodation Factors I and II is seen in Table VIII.

The data in this table make it evident that the accommodation variables allocate themselves decisively to two factors. Factor I is composed essentially of rejection, chauvinism, and involvement. Factor II is composed essentially of satisfaction and mobility. In Factor I, rejection, involvement, and negative chauvinism form a rather solid core in which involvement is the most important component and thus may legitimately be defined as an Involvement Factor. In Factor II satisfaction represents the stronger element and this factor may be described as the Satisfaction Factor.

Factor scores were obtained for each subject relative to a hypothetical mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

As in the case of Personality Factor I, factor scores were calculated for all members of the sample for whom sufficient data were available, for accommodation Factors I and II. The individual accommodation scores were weighted by the appropriate variable weights found in Table VIII for Factor I and for Factor II, for each sample member and these weighted scores were summed to obtain the factor scores. These scores were then adjusted so that the mean was 50 and the standard deviation was 10 for both Factor I and Factor II.

TABLE VIII
CONTRIBUTION OF EACH INTEGRATION VARIABLE TO TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED BY
INTEGRATION FACTORS I AND II

Accommodation Variables	Factor I	Factor II
Rejection	29.6%	1.7%
Chauvinism	21.6%	1.0
Involvement	36.7	0.1
Satisfaction	4.6	58.0
Mobility	7.5	39.2
	100.0%	100.0%

THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

In this part of the study two multiple regression analyses were performed: the first made use of the original accommodation and personality variable measures, and the second made use of Accommodation Factors I and II and Personality Factors I and II. We shall first review briefly the multiple regression analysis procedure, and then present the results of these two regression analyses.

As indicated at the beginning of the chapter, the regression analyses were performed on a considerably restricted set of independent and dependent variables. The independent variables included age, sex, area of Italian origin, duration of stay in Canada, Italian primary relationships, and the four personality variables. The dependent variables were those discussed above: chauvinism, mobility in comparison with the first Canadian position, rejection of Italianism, involvement in Canadian society and satisfaction with life in Canada.

For the purpose of multiple regression analysis the score scales of the personality and integration variables were treated as continuous variables as was age. Duration, sex, area of Italian origin and primary relationships were treated as categories.

Product moment correlation coefficients were obtained for all the variables. A multiple regression procedure to determine the conjoint effect of all the independent variables (the full model) on the dependent variables is performed according to the multiple regression equation.

$$Y = A + B_1 X_1 + B_2 X_2 \text{-----} B_1 X_1$$

The resultant multiple correlation coefficient, R , is squared to yield a measure of the proportion of variation explained by all the

variables.

In determining whether there are significant relationships between the independent and the criterion variables, the first procedure is to test for significant interaction effects between the independent variables and the criterion by means of the F ratio. This is done because, in terms of this procedure, there is no way of segregating the main effects of the independent variable from its interaction effects, if the latter are significant. Where the interaction effects are not significant the existence of main effects of the independent variable is tested as follows. The independent effect of an independent variable is obtained by removing the component of this variable from the regression equation, thus producing a restricted model. The difference between the R^2 of the restricted model and the R^2 of the full model represents the independent R^2 contribution of the independent variable which had been removed. By replicating this procedure for each different independent variable the independent effect of each independent variable on the criterion variable is obtained.

The independent contribution of each independent variable is tested for the significance of its contribution by the F test. The F ratio is obtained from the R^2 values according to the following formula:

$$\frac{R_1^2 - R_2^2 / \text{D.F. in the numerator}}{1 - R_1^2 / \text{D.F. in the denominator}}$$

Where R_1^2 is R^2 of the full model squared

R_2^2 is R^2 of the restricted model squared.

TABLE IX

F RATIO VALUES AND PROBABILITIES OF INTERACTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
IN RELATION TO ACCOMMODATION FACTOR I, INVOLVEMENT

ACCOMMODATION FACTOR I, INVOLVEMENT

	Sex	Age	Origin	Duration	Adjustment
Age	F = 2.9657 P = .08593				
Origin	F = 1.4983 P = .2250	F = .0212 P = .97866			
Duration	F = .5266 P = .46864	F = .2311 P = .63111	F = 1.5033 P = .22389		
Adjustment	F = .8949 P = .34488	F = 1.2572 P = .26299	F = 1.5763 P = .20825	F = .2695 P = .60412	
Primary Association	F = 2.6248 P = .10611	F = .0101 P = .91987	F = 2.4183 P = .09057	F = 1.1014 P = .29474	F = 3.0267 P = .08278

TABLE X.

F RATIO VALUES AND PROBABILITIES OF INTERACTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
IN RELATION TO ACCOMMODATION FACTOR II, SATISFACTION

ACCOMMODATION FACTOR II, SATISFACTION

	Sex	Age	Origin	Duration	Adjustment
Age	F = 0 P = 1.0				
Origin	F = .2538 P = .77614	F = 2.2465 P = .10730			
Duration	F = .2450 P = .62108	F = .0195 P = .88910	F = 2.4803 P = .08520		
Adjustment	F = .0682 P = .32587	F = .0205 P = .82616	F = 1.1429 P = .32019	F = .0216 P = .60412	
Primary Association	F = .0132 P = .90876	F = 0 P = 1.0	F = .4156 P = .66052	F = .3469 P = .55638	F = 0 P = 1.0

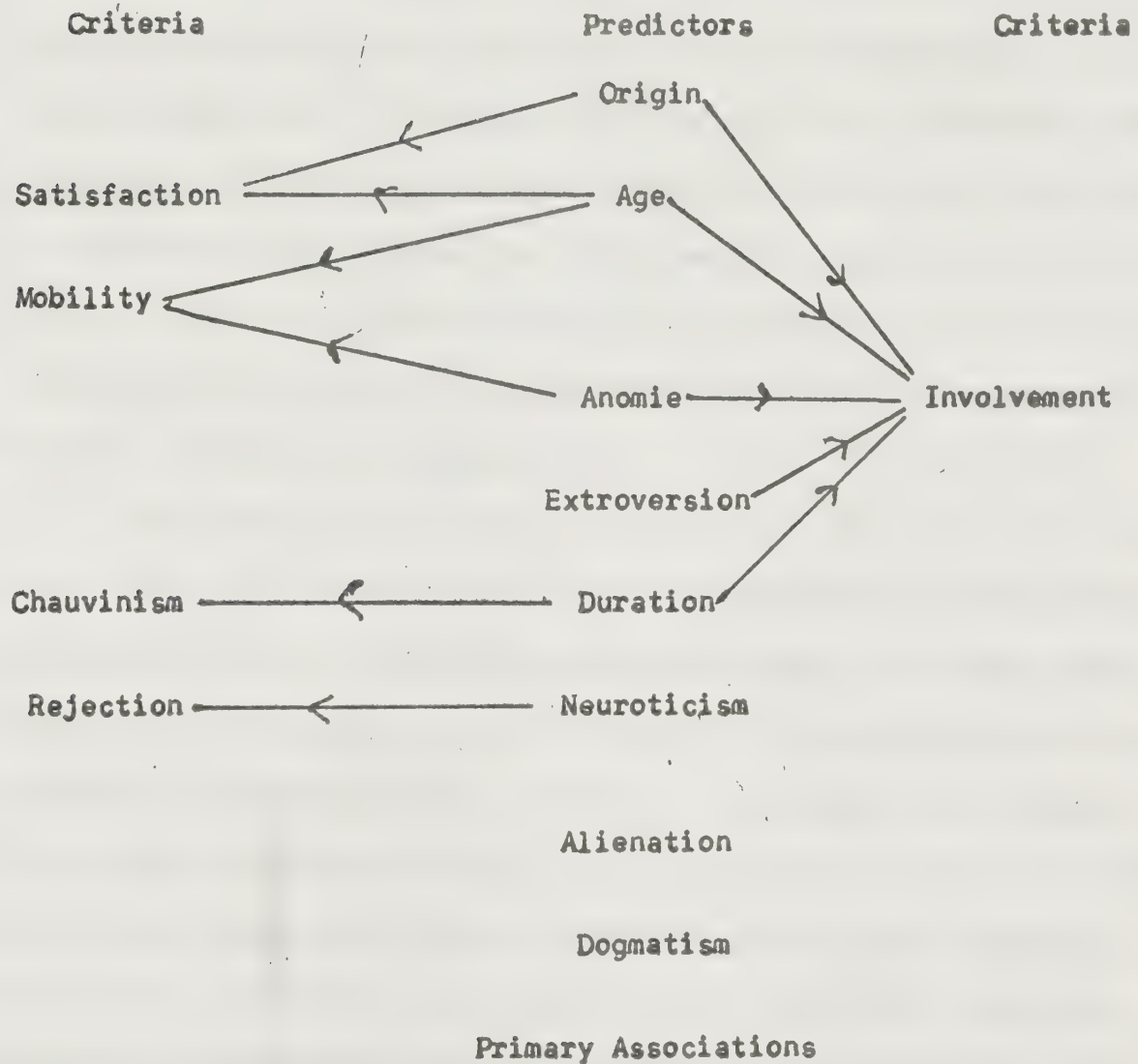
TABLE XI

F RATIOS, UNCONTROLLED R's AND PROBABILITY LEVELS OF INDEPENDENT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON CRITERION VARIABLES, TOGETHER WITH PROPORTION OF VARIANCE IN CRITERIA CONJOINTLY EXPLAINED BY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Italian Chauvinism		Mobility		Involvement		Satisfaction in Canada		Respect of Italianism	
Age	F = 2.20 R = 0.02	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 10.55 R = 0.14	Pf = <.01 Pr = <.01	F = 10.86 R = -0.06	Pf = <.05 Pr = >.05	F = 10.66 R = 0.17	Pf = <.01 Pr = <.05	F = 1.72 R = -0.07	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Sex	F = 3.78 R = 0.07	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0 R = 0.06	Pf = 0.1 Pr = >.05	F = 13.03 R = 0.27	Pf = <.01 Pr = <.05	F = 0.34 R = 0.01	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.30 R = -0.14	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05
Origins	F = 0.93 R = -0.14	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 0.77 R = -0.08	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 16.04 R = 0.16	Pf = <.01 Pr = <.05	F = 8.98 R = -0.19	Pf = .01 Pr = >.05	F = 2.45 R = 0.04	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Duration in Canada	F = 2.45 R = 0.08	Pf = <.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.85 R = 0.07	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 5.10 R = -0.26	Pf = <.05 Pr = <.05	F = 1.03 R = -0.07	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 1.19 R = -0.02	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Anomie	F = 3.46 R = 0.16	Pf = .06 Pr = <.05	F = 8.42 R = .241	Pf = .003 Pr = <.05	F = 7.71 R = -0.18	Pf = .01 Pr = <.05	F = 1.49 R = -0.10	Pf = 0.20 Pr = <.05	F = 0.30 R = 0.005	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Alienation	F = 1.48 R = 0.18	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 0.92 R = -.02	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.01 R = -0.15	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 2.19 R = -0.16	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 0.48 R = 0.11	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Dogmatism	F = 3.52 R = 0.21	Pf = .07 Pr = <.05	F = 3.16 R = -0.04	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.01 R = -0.08	Pf = 0.22 Pr = >.05	F = 0.23 R = -0.02	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.36 R = 0.01	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Extroversion	F = .01 R = .10	Pf = 0.93 Pr = <.05	F = 0 R = 0.02	Pf = 1 Pr = >.05	F = 5.32 R = >0.08	Pf = .002 Pr = .05	F = 0 R = 0.08	Pf = 1 Pr = >.05	F = 1.72 R = 0.04	Pf = 0.19 Pr = >.05
Neuroticism	F = 3.71 R = 0.18	Pf = .05 Pr = <.05	F = 0.43 R = 0.04	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 9.63 R = -0.26	Pf = .01 Pr = <.05	F = 1.69 R = -0.10	Pf = 0.19 Pr = <.05	F = 5.61 R = 0.13	Pf = .01 Pr = <.05
Primary Associations	F = 0.66 R = -0.17	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 00.34 R = 0.03	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 0.28 R = 0.06	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05	F = 2.48 R = -0.09	Pf = >.05 Pr = <.05	F = 1.01 R = 0.03	Pf = >.05 Pr = >.05
Per Cent of Variance Explained by Independent Variable	.148		.079		.314		.141		.092	

FIGURE III

PATTERN OF SIGNIFICANT INDEPENDENT EFFECTS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES PRIOR TO FACTOR ANALYSIS



As indicated above two multiple regression analyses were performed, one making use of the unfactored personality and accommodation variables and the other making use of Personality Factors I and II and Accommodation Factors I and II. The first, preliminary, analysis was performed to provide a basis of comparison with the factor analyzed analysis, and accordingly there was no test of interaction effects. However, such a test was made in the second multiple regression analysis. The results of this test, as seen in Tables IX and X show that none of the interactions between the independent variables and either Accommodation Factor I or II were significant. Accordingly, we may be reasonably safe in inferring that the interaction effects in the first regression analysis were not significant either.

The results of this analysis are seen in Table XI which shows the F ratios and uncontrolled R's and the probability levels of the independent effects of the independent variables on the five dependent variables and the proportions of variance in the criteria conjointly explained by the independent variables. The significant independent effects are diagrammed in Figure III. It is clear in the first place that in most cases only a small proportion of the total criterion variance is explained by the independent variables here considered. The highest proportion of explained variance is 31 per cent in the case of involvement, and the lowest proportion is .08 in the case of mobility. It is further clear that only a few of the independent effects of the independent variables are significantly related to the criteria. Of course, a much higher proportion of the uncontrolled correlations of the independent variables with the criterion variables

were significant as Tables IX and X show, but when the intercorrelations between the independent variables are controlled, only a few of these variables qualify as significant independent predictors of the criteria. Only duration of Canadian residence is independently predictive of variations in chauvinism. The fact that the uncontrolled correlations of region of Italian origin, anomie, alienation, dogmatism, extraversion, neuroticism, and Italian primary relationships with chauvinism are significant is the result of correlations between these variables and duration of Canadian residence in respects relevant to chauvinism. Mobility is predicted by age and by anomie scores. The fact that the uncontrolled correlation of alienation with mobility is significant but the F ratio is not is the result of correlations of alienation and age and/or anomie, in respects relevant to mobility. Rejection of Italianisms is independently predicted only by neuroticism. The fact that the uncontrolled correlations of sex and alienation with rejection are significant but the F ratios are not is the result of correlations between these variables and neuroticism in respects relevant to rejection. Satisfaction with life in Canada is predicted only by age and region of Italian origin. The fact that the uncontrolled correlations of anomie, alienation, neuroticism and primary associations with satisfaction are significant but the F ratios are not is the result of correlations between these variables and age and/or region of Italian origins in respects relevant to satisfaction.

Involvement in Canadian society is independently predicted by age, sex, region of Italian origins, anomie, extraversion, and neuroticism. Alienation and dogmatism are also significantly, but not

independently correlated with involvement because of intercorrelations with the other independent variables which do independently predict the criterion.

In the case of the multiple regression analysis of the Personality Factors I and II and the other independent variables for Accommodation Factors I and II, age, duration of Canadian residence, and Personality Factors I and II were treated as continuous variables and sex, primary associations, and area of Italian origin were treated as categories. Since, as indicated before, the tests for interaction effects between the various independent variables yielded negative results we may confidently conclude that when significant F ratios occur it is due to the independent effects of the independent variable on the criterion variable.

The results of this analysis are seen in Table XII which shows the F ratios, the uncontrolled R's, and the probability levels of the independent effects of the independent variables on the criteria, and the proportions of variance in the criteria conjointly explained by the independent variables. The data in the table show that an even smaller proportion of the variance of the two criteria variables is explained by the independent variables than in the case of the preliminary analysis. Only 15.6 per cent of the variance of accommodation Factor I, Involvement, is so explained, in contrast to 31.4 per cent of the variance of the Involvement sub-scale which was explained in the preliminary analysis. And similarly, only 10.6 per cent of the variance of the Accommodation Factor II Satisfaction is explained by the independent variables listed in Table X, in contrast to the 14.1 per cent of the

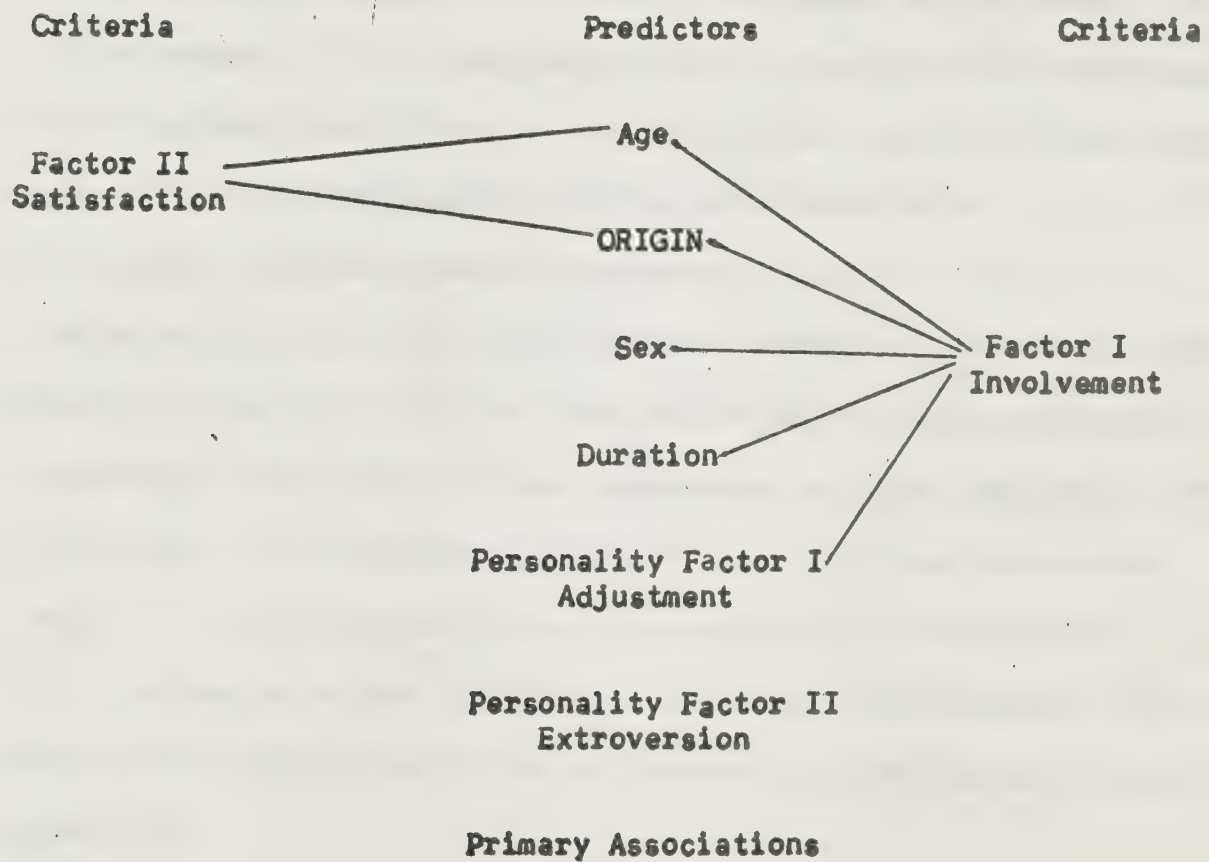
TABLE XII

F RATIOS, UNCONTROLLED R's AND PROBABILITY LEVELS OF INDEPENDENT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES ON ACCOMMODATION FACTORS, TOGETHER WITH PROPORTIONS OF VARIANCE IN FACTORS CONJOINTLY EXPLAINED BY INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

	Factor I: Involvement		Factor II: Satisfaction	
Sex	F = 6.97	Pf = .008	F = 0.311	Pf = 0.577
	R = -0.18	Pr = < .05	R = 0.033	Pr = > .05
Age	F = 10.59	Pf = .001	F = 16.99	Pf = .00005
	R = -0.08	Pr = > .05	R = 0.207	Pr = < .05
Origin	F = 3.83	Pf = .013	F = 4.535	Pf = .011
	R = 0.145	Pr = < .05	R = 0.203	Pr = < .05
Duration of Residence	F = 9.66	Pf = .002	F = 1.097	Pf = .295
	R = -0.211	Pr = < .05	R = -0.008	Pr = > .05
Adjustment	F = 7.581	Pf = .006	F = 2.45	Pf = 0.118
Factor	R = 0.207	Pr = < .05	R = 0.037	Pr = > .05
Extroversion	F = 3.08	Pf = .079	F = 0.08	Pf = 0.777
Factor	R = 0.03	Pr = > .05	R = 0.093	Pr = < .05
Primary	F = 0.39	Pf = .816	F = 1.116	Pf = 0.348
Relationships	R = .107	Pr = < .05	R = 0.104	Pr = < .05
Per Cent of Variance Explained by Independent Variables	15.6%		10.6%	

FIGURE IV

DIAGRAM SHOWING PATTERN OF SIGNIFICANT INDEPENDENT EFFECTS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES FOLLOWING FACTORING OF PERSONALITY AND ACCOMMODATION VARIABLE



variance of the Satisfaction sub-scale which was explained by the independent variables in the preliminary analysis.

Factor I, Involvement is independently predicted by the same general pattern of independent variables as the involvement sub-scale in the preliminary analysis. It is predicted by age, sex, region of Italian origins, duration of Canadian residence, and Personality Factor II, Adjustment. It is also correlated in an uncontrolled analysis with Italian primary relationships, but this is the result of intercorrelations with other independent variables mentioned above. Factor II Satisfaction is independently predicted only by age and region of Italian origins, as was the Satisfaction sub-scale in the preliminary analysis. The fact that the uncontrolled correlations of sex and extroversion with Factor II are significant but the F ratios are not is the result of correlations between these variables and age and region of Italian origins in respects relevant to Satisfaction.

A diagram of the significant independent relationships existing between the Involvement Factor and the Satisfaction Factor is found in Figure IV.

DISCUSSION

Unfortunately, the analyses which have been reported in this chapter were designed before the material summarized in the earlier chapters had been analyzed. Moreover, these analyses were especially designed to test some psychological and social psychological hypotheses concerning accommodation. The result was that Italian social class variables and Canadian cultural exposure variables were not included in

the list of independent variables included in the multiple regression analyses. In the light of our earlier findings concerning the frequency of association of these variables with many of the accommodation variables this was an unfortunate oversight.

However, the analyses reported in this chapter do answer a number of questions which the earlier chi square analyses do not answer. These are of two kinds: (1) how many underlying factors are involved when a number of different variables which appear to share some similarities are considered together, and (2) what is the independent effect of each of a number of independent variables on the criterion variable.

Answers have been provided to the first question with respect to two clusters of variables. Factor analysis of the personality variables, anomie, alienation, neuroticism, dogmatism and extraversion (of which we made no use in our previous analyses) demonstrated the existence of two main factors in this group of variables, one which we have called the Adjustment Factor and the other the Extraversion Factor. The latter variable we have not made use of in this report. The Adjustment Factor explains much of the variance in the four core variables that make it up, ranging from 33.1 per cent in the case of anomie, through 40.1 per cent for neuroticism and 55.0 per cent for dogmatism to 62.3 per cent for alienation. The identification of this common core factor explains the repeated finding that these personality variables tend to be associated with criterion variables in the same way.

Factor analysis of the accommodation variables, chauvinism, mobility, involvement, satisfaction/with Canada, and rejection of Italianism, demonstrated the existence of two main factors in this group

of variables which we have called the Involvement Factor and the Satisfaction Factor. Although these concepts seem rather far removed from chauvinism and rejection of Italianism, the two, jointly, explain 31.6 per cent of the variance in the former and 42.8 per cent of the variance in the latter. They explain 51.6 per cent of the involvement sub-scale variance, 52.2 per cent of the mobility sub-scale variance, and 65.4 per cent of the satisfaction sub-scale variance. It is highly suggestive that rejection, chauvinism, and involvement all cluster together in explaining 88 per cent of the variance (29.7 per cent, 21.6 per cent, and 36.8 per cent, respectively) of the Involvement Factor, and that satisfaction and mobility cluster together in explaining 97.2 per cent of the variance (58.0 per cent and 39.2 per cent, respectively) of the Satisfaction Factor.

The multiple regression analyses provide an answer to the second kind of question, "What is the independent effect of each independent variable on the criterion variables, within the limits of the variables subjected to this kind of analysis?" These included data on age, sex, Italian origins, duration of Canadian residence, personality variables, and Italian primary relationships. Unfortunately, data on Italian social class, relationships with non-Italians, and Canadian cultural exposure were not included.

Because the multiple regression analysis of the unfactored independent and dependent variables was a preliminary analysis, no weightings of the contribution of each independent variable to the dependent variables were computed. However, such weights were computed for the factored independent variables and dependent variables. Thus, a relatively

refined answer to the question of the weight of the independent effect of each independent variable on the factored dependent variables. The pertinent data are found in Table XIII.

The standard weights are those used when both the independent variables and the criterion variable are expressed in standard score; the raw weight is for use with the raw scores. In this discussion we shall refer to the standard weight because the various independent variables are thereby reduced to standard units. The multiple regression analysis procedure used here also constructs an relative continuum along which all of the independent variables are ordered relative to each other in terms of the sign and strength of their predictive power. This continuum accordingly ranges from a positive extreme through a zero point to a negative extreme. Since the ordering of all of the variables are combined on this single continuum it is possible to have two mutually exhaustive categories on the same side of the zero point, i.e., both Northern and Southern origins as negatively weighted categories or male and female as positively weighted categories.

The independent variables are ranked from high to low in terms of the size of their predictive standard weight relative to the Involvement Factor I as follows: (1) South and Central, (2) North, (3) female, (4) duration of Canadian residence, (5) age, (6) Adjustment Factor, (7) the categories of Italian primary relationships, and (8) Extroversion Factor. Northern and Southern origins, the Italian primary relationship categories, and age are negatively weighted, and the remainder are positively weighted. In general it would appear that the predictive weights of these independent variables are rather like the frequencies

TABLE XIYI

RAW AND STANDARD WEIGHTS SIGNIFYING THE PREDICTIVE POWER OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH RESPECT TO ACCOMMODATION FACTORS I INVOLVEMENT AND II SATISFACTION

		Accommodation Factor I		Accommodation Factor II	
		Raw Weight	Standard Weight	Raw Weight	Standard Weight
Per. Fac. II	a ₁	1.0868	0.0967	0.2059	0.0183
Per. Fac. I	a ₂	0.1502	0.1501	0.0873	0.0872
Age	a ₃	-1.0070	-0.1768	1.3119	0.2303
Duration	a ₄	-1.4158	-0.1809	0.4382	0.0560
Pr. Ass'n	0 a ₅	-2.7165	-0.1239	1.0056	0.0458
	1 a ₆	-2.8741	-0.0758	0.9365	0.0247
	2 a ₇	-2.7679	-0.1279	0.0000	0.0000
	3 a ₈	-1.7237	-0.0545	-2.1528	-0.0681
	4 a ₉	-3.0032	-0.1187	-1.5434	-0.0610
Male	a ₁₀	4.9698	0.2458	0.6136	0.0303
Female	a ₁₁	2.1626	0.1069	0.0000	0.0000
North	a ₁₂	-12.0839	-0.5573		
Southcen	a ₁₃	-15.2303	-0.7060		
South	a ₁₄			-0.9634	-0.0480
Northcen	a ₁₅			-4.5506	-0.2270
Constant		63.4856		39.6877	
RSQ		0.1560		0.1068	

of significant relationships which emerged from the chi square analyses reported earlier. It should be remembered that the proportion of variance in the involvement factor explained by these independent variables is only 15.6 per cent.

Relative to the Satisfaction Factor, the independent variables are ranked from high to low in terms of the size of their standard weight ignoring sign as follows: (1) age, (2) region of Italian origins, (3) the Adjustment Factor, (4) the Italian primary relationships categories, (5) duration of Canadian residence, (6) sex, and (7) the Extroversion Factor. The region of Italian origins, duration of Canadian residence and the two Italian primary relationships categories involving no relatives in Edmonton are negatively associated with the Satisfaction Factor, while the rest are positively associated. Again, these relative weights appear to be in general agreement with earlier findings, though only 10.7 per cent of the variance in the criterion is predicted by the independent variables we have considered.

Conformably with earlier results we again find that whereas Northern origins is less negatively associated with involvement, it is more negatively associated with satisfaction, in contrast with Southern origins. Age is inversely associated with Involvement, but is directly associated with Satisfaction. Duration of Canadian residence is directly associated with Involvement, but is inversely associated with Satisfaction, and having primary relationships with relatives in Edmonton is inversely associated with Involvement, but directly associated with Satisfaction. Thus, the rather paradoxical pattern found earlier of an inverse associational relationship between the independent variables and involvement indices on the one hand and

satisfaction indices on the other hand persists with the factor analyzed variables used in this multiple regression analysis.

CHAPTER XII

PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION AND DEVIANCE

One of the more common and more tragic findings in the studies of the accommodation of immigrants to a new host society is that emotional confusion and deviancy are often widespread, especially among second generation immigrants. Many researchers have demonstrated the existence of this pattern beginning with the works of Thomas and Znaniecki--the Polish Peasant in Europe and America,¹ and Young--Pilgrims of Russian Town.² Child's study, Italian or American, the Second Generation

¹William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish peasant in Europe and America, Boston, The Gorham Press, 1920.

²Pauline V. Young, Pilgrims of Russian town, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932.

in Conflict,³ and Gans' recent study of Italians in a Boston slum⁴

³Irvin L. Child, Italian or American? the second generation in conflict, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943.

⁴Herbert Gans, The urban villagers, group and class in the life of Italian-Americans, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

document the intergenerational conflict and the culture conflict which Italian immigrants in American cities have experienced, and the disorganized and anti-social consequences of the conflicts in dealings with both Italians and non-Italians. Thrasher concludes his chapter on "Race and Nationality in the Gang," in his classic work with the statement, "The gang, then, to sum up, is one manifestation of the disorganization

incident to cultural conflict among diverse nations and races gathered together in one place and themselves in contact with a civilization foreign and largely inimical to them."⁵ Thorsten Sellin's monograph on

⁵Frederic M. Thrasher, *The gang, a study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 220.

Culture Conflict and Crime⁶ presents a detailed discussion of this

⁶Thorsten Sellin, *Culture conflict and crime*, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1938.

position.

In view of the frequency of the finding that confusion, maladjustment and deviancy are associated with acculturation, especially of the second generation, the present study was planned to give special attention to the existence of such deviancy problems among the Italians in Edmonton. We were concerned with the possible existence of two kinds of deviant behavior, that which is unlawful or delinquent behavior and that which is disturbed or mentally or emotionally aberrant. Data of two different kinds were obtained: from case records and from interviews with officials who have responsibility in these areas.

Unfortunately it was not possible to make a search of the case files of the mental hospital and the guidance clinic which serve the population of Edmonton in order to obtain data on the mental-emotional problems of Italians from this source. However, it was possible to search the files of the two family service agencies in Edmonton, the Family Service Association and the Catholic Family and Child Service, in order to draw a sample of Italians who have sought help from these

agencies in solving personal problems. Information was also obtained from interviews with guidance clinic officials and mental hospital personnel.

It was possible to obtain more adequate data with respect to the criminal deviancy of Italians in Edmonton. We were given access to the record file of the Edmonton city gaol to obtain a sample of arrests involving Italians. Law enforcement and judicial officials were also consulted concerning their experience and conceptions of delinquency among the Italian immigrants of the city. In the pages which follow we shall consider first disturbed behavior and then unlawful behavior.

DISTURBED BEHAVIOR AMONG ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

Through inquiry of the Directors of the Guidance Clinic, Mental Health Division, and a mental hospital we learned that in none of these institutions are the records indexed or compiled by ethnicity. Any attempt to establish peculiarities of incidence or of type of emotional and mental deviancy among the Italian people would have necessitated a search of the entire case files. It was the opinion of the people whom we talked with that the incidence of Italian cases in their files was so small that little would be gained from this effort, and so it was not done.

We did, however, attempt to learn what we could from the personnel of these various institutions by probing for their impressions from the Italians with whom they had had professional dealings. Those interviewed included the Director of the Child Guidance Clinic, the Director of Mental Health of the Province of Alberta, and the Director of a mental hospital in Alberta.

The Director of the Child Guidance Clinic indicated that he did see a disproportionately large number of Italian children. Most of them were six or seven years of age, who were referred by public school teachers for mental testing or guidance in connection with language problems. In the typical case the child was unable to speak English when first sent to school in this country, and as a result of the language difficulty and perhaps as a result of the child's emotional response to this difficulty the child's behavior in the classroom--seemingly retarded, very passive, or otherwise peculiar--the child was referred. The Director emphasized that these problems of the Italian children were entirely typical of other immigrant children in similar circumstances. He felt that the Italian children handled the problems as well as others did and that they were transitional problems leaving no permanent effects.

The Director of Mental Health for Alberta stated that it was impossible to make any generalized statement about the incidence of disorders among Italians in Edmonton. However, he did ^{indicate} ~~agree~~ that there was certainly not a disproportionately large number of cases of Italian background.

The Director of a provincial mental health hospital indicated that although it would be possible to establish something definite with regard to incidence and type of mental disorder among the Italian people by a study of the records of his institution, he could not discern any notable differences in incidence in mental disease from his experience in the field. He stated that if he were to make a statement in a ^{it would be} general way/that perhaps the rate of incidence of mental disorder among Italian people was, if anything, lower than among non-Italians. This

might be explained by the selectivity of immigration procedures, which would eliminate many potentially disturbed people from entering Canada.

Data from Case Records. Access was obtained to the files of the two agencies from which city residents are most likely to seek professional help with family and personal adjustment problems, the Family Service Association and the Catholic Family and Child Service. Data were copied from the agency records for all cases involving people of Italian origins and for a control group. The control group was selected by taking the record of a non-Italian which immediately followed each record of an Italian origins case. Because of time pressures on agency personnel who were copying the records, only 30 control cases were obtained, whereas the Italian sample included 42 cases. The latter figure is also an incomplete figure. It includes all of the identifiable Italian cases from January 1, 1963 through November 30, 1965 from the Family Service Association--just six in all; all of the English speaking Italian cases for September 1961 through November, 1965--28 in all--and all of the non-English speaking Italian cases for January 1, 1964 through November, 1965, eight in all from the Catholic Family and Child Service.

The following data were copied from the case records where they were available--marital status, including whether or not there was intermarriage, age, sex, marital status, nativity, occupation of breadwinner, education, duration of residence in Canada, the problem for which help was sought, a rating of the severity of the problem, and an indication of the extent to which the problem was "solved."

Although the collections of cases described above are not all comparable with each other, we do have records of all Italian origins

cases served by the two agencies during the period from January 1, 1964 to November 30, 1965. We also have record of the total number of cases served by the agencies during this period. Accordingly it is possible to calculate incidence rates of help-seeking for the Italian origins population in Edmonton and for the total Edmonton population for this period. The population bases for which these rates should be calculated can only be estimated, unfortunately. Since 80 per cent of the cases are family cases, the base figure should consist of the number of families plus the number of adults not members of family groups. It was possible to derive these figures for the 1961 census. Municipal sources suggest that the population of the city had grown about 10 per cent since the 1961 census was taken on December 1, 1965. On the basis of projection of the annual immigration figures for the 1951 through 1955, and 1956 through 1960, it is estimated that the Italian population had increased by 24 per cent between the Spring of 1961 when the census was taken and December 1965. Projections of the Italian origins and the total Edmonton populations were made using these growth rates. These projections were used as a basis for calculating the incidence of help-seeking from the two family service agencies by the Italian origins and the total population.

During the period from January 1, 1964 until December 1, 1965 a total of 4,586 family and personal adjustment cases were served by the two agencies, of which 24 were Italian. It is estimated that there were about 113,015 family groups and adults without families in Edmonton during this period, of whom about 1,960 were Italian. The incidence of cases of help-seeking for the total Edmonton population during this

period was one per 24.6, and the incidence for the Italian origins population was one per 79.6. Thus, within the limits of the research procedures which we have described, it appears that the incidence rate is over three times as high for the general population as it is for the Italian origins population of Edmonton. Our very limited data do not show any difference in incidence between the Italian born and the Canadian born components of the Italian origins group. The Canadian born group comprises about 28 per cent of the total Italian origins group and they contributed 29 per cent of the cases during the 1964-1965 period.

Information on the characteristics of the Italian origins and the control case samples is found in Table I. Predictably, the two most noteworthy differentials have to do with education and occupation. The Italians have had less education and more frequently work at unskilled jobs than do the controls. They are also much more frequently intermarried than the controls, and slightly more frequently divorced or separated.

In contrast with the sample of Italian immigrants interviewed in the present study, the Italian case sample has lived in Canada a shorter period of time, is somewhat better educated and is employed in higher level positions, and is very much more frequently intermarried and divorced.

The distribution of kinds of problems for which the Italian origins and the control samples sought help from the two agencies is found in Table II. The data show clearly that the most characteristic problem of the Italian group is parent-child conflict, with marital conflict in second place, whereas two-thirds of the problems of the

TABLE I

NATIVITY, DURATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE, AGE, EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, MARITAL STATUS AND INTERMARRIAGE AMONG ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL SAMPLES FROM FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY FILES, WITH PERCENTAGES

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Canadian Born																		
	Yes		No		No Response		Total											
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%										
Italians	13	31.0	24	51.1	5	11.9	42	100.0										
Control	23	76.7	6	20.0	1	3.3	30	100.0										
DURATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE (Years)																		
	1-5		6-10		11-36		36+		Life		No Response		Total					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
Italian Born	9	37.5	10	41.7	NO		3	12.5	2	8.3	24	100.0						
Canadian Italians							1	7.7	12	92.3	13	100.0						
Ital. Birthplace Unkn.					CASES						5	100.0						
Total Italian	9	21.4	10	23.8			4	9.5	12	28.6	7	16.7	42	100.0				
Control	1	3.3	3	10.0			1	3.3	22	73.3	3	10.0	30	100.0				
AGE OF MALE (or Female if no male involved) (Years)																		
	12-20		21-30		31-40		41-50		51+		No Response		Total					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
Italian born	1	4.2	8	33.3	6	25.0	5	20.8	4	16.7			24	100.0				
Canadian Italians	3	23.1	5	38.5	2	15.4	2	15.4			1	7.7	13	100.0				
Ital. Birthplace Unkn.			1	20.0			1	20.0			3	60.0	5	100.0				
Total Italian	4	9.5	14	33.3	8	19.0	8	19.0	4	9.5	4	9.5	42	100.0				
Control	1	3.3	9	30.0	9	30.0	6	20.0	5	16.7			30	100.0				
EDUCATION OF MALE (or Female if no male involved) (Years)																		
	3-4		5-6		7-8		9-10		11-12		Univ.		Tech		No Response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Italian Born	3	12.5	7	29.2	4	16.7	4	16.7	1	4.2	1	4.2	4	16.7	4	16.7	24	100.0
Canadian Italians	1	7.7	2	15.4	0	0.0	2	15.4	5	38.5	1	7.7	1	7.7	1	7.7	13	100.0
Ital. Birthplace Unkn.					1	20.0									4	80.0	5	100.0
Total Italian	4	9.5	9	21.4	5	11.9	6	14.3	6	14.3	2	4.8	1	2.4	9	21.4	42	100.0
Control			1	3.3	3	10.0	8	26.7	5	16.7	2	6.7			11	36.7	30	100.0

TABLE I (Continued)

OCCUPATION OF MALE														
	Unem- ployed		Semi- Skilled		Skilled		White Collar		Other		No Response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Italian Born	5	20.8	7	29.2	1	4.2	7	29.2	0	0.0	2	8.3	24	100.0
Canadian Italian	2	15.4	1	7.7	1	7.7	2	15.4	3	23.1	1	7.7	13	100.0
Ital. Birthplace Unkn.			1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0			1	20.0	5	100.0
Total Italian	6	16.7	9	21.4	3	7.1	11	26.2	3	7.1	6	14.3	42	100.0
Control	6	20.0	1	3.3	4	13.3	6	20.0	7	23.3	1	3.3	30	100.0

MARITAL STATUS										
	Single		Married		Divorced/Separated		Widowed		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Italian Born	2	8.3	18	75.0	4	16.7	0	0.0	24	100.0
Canadian Italian	8	61.5	3	23.1	1	7.7	1	7.7	13	100.0
Italian Birthplace Unknown			3	60.0	2	40.0			5	100.0
Total Italian	10	23.8	24	57.1	7	16.7	1	2.4	42	100.0
Control	7	23.3	20	66.7	3	10.0			30	100.0

INTERMARRIAGE						
	Yes		No		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Italian	13	40.6	2	6.3	17	53.1
Control	4	17.4	18	78.3	1	4.3
					23	100.0

TABLE II

INCIDENCE OF VARIOUS PRESENTING PROBLEMS OF ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL
SAMPLES FROM FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY FILES, WITH PERCENTAGES

Presenting Problems	Italian Born		Canadian Born It.		Unknown Birthplace		Total Italian		Control	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Parent-Child	8	33.3	2	15.4	3	60.0	13	31.0	2	6.7
Marital	7	29.2	3	23.1	1	20.0	11	26.2	16	53.3
Pre-Marital Counselling	1	4.2					1	2.4		
Unmarried Parent	1	4.2	3	23.1			4	9.5	3	10.0
Relatives	3	12.5					3	7.1	1	3.3
Desertion	1	4.2					1	2.4	1	3.3
Personality Disorder			3	23.1	1	20.0	4	9.5	6	20.0
Organic Disorder	1	4.2	1	7.7			2	4.8		
Unemployment	2	8.3	1	7.7			3	7.1	1	3.3
Total	24	100.0	13	100.0	5	100.0	42	100.0	30	100.0

control group involved marital conflict. The incidence of unmarried parenthood among the Italians is no less high than it is among the control group members. The incidence of personality disorders is higher among the controls than among the Italians.

When we compare the problem distributions of the Canadian born and the Italian born groups of Italian origins, we find that among the Canadian born the incidence of parent-child conflicts is very low and the incidence of marital conflicts is low, but the incidence of personality disorders and of unwed motherhood (which may also reflect personality disorders) is unusually high.

Ratings of the seriousness of problems indicate that problems of the control group are more serious than are those of the Italian group. When the problems were rated as "moderate" or "serious," 31 per cent of the problems of Italians were rated as "moderate" and seven per cent of the problems of the controls were rated as "moderate." When the Canadian born and the Italian born members of the Italian group are compared on this point it becomes clear that the former are more like the control group than the latter, since 15 per cent of their problems are classed as "moderate," whereas 37 per cent of the problems of Italian born cases were so classed.

In Table III is found the ratings of the degree of resolution of the problem. The data show that the frequency of rated improvement was higher among the Italians than among the controls. When the Italians are broken down into the Italian born and the Canadian born it is clear that the improvement rate is much higher for the latter than for the former.

In summary, the following generalizations appear justified in terms

TABLE III

DEGREE OF RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL SAMPLES
FROM FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY FILES, WITH PERCENTAGES

	No Change		Referred		Some Improvement		Good Improvement		Open File		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Italian Born	6	25.0	5	20.8	8	33.3	5	20.8	0		24	100.0
Canad. Born	1	7.7	2	15.4	7	53.8	3	23.1	0		13	100.0
Birthplace Unknown	1	20.0			3	60.0	1	20.0	0		5	100.0
Total Ital.	8	19.0	7	16.7	18	42.9	9	21.4	0		42	100.0
Control	10	33.3	5	16.7	9	30.0	5	16.7	1	3.3	30	100.0

of the information which we have been able to obtain on disturbed and problem behavior of Italians in Edmonton. The incidence of such behavior is lower and the problems which bring people to the family service agencies are less severe for the Italians than for the controls. The problem most characteristic of Italian born subjects of Italian origin is parent-child conflict. The problems most characteristic of the Canadian born subjects of Italian origin are personality disorders and unwed motherhood. The problem most characteristic of the Edmonton populace as a whole is marital conflict.

The Italians were more frequently rated as showing improvement in resolving their problems than the controls, but among the Italians it was the Canadian born component which accounted for much of the improvement.

Our data show that there are some differences between the Italian origins case group, and the control group, and also between the Italian case group and the sample of Italians who were interviewed for this study. In contrast to the control group, the Italians were less well educated and more frequently worked at unskilled jobs. In contrast to the study sample, the Italians who sought agency help were better educated, more frequently had higher occupational positions, more frequently were intermarried, and more frequently were separated or divorced. They were not more frequently Canadian born, however, than the total Italian origins population of Edmonton.

The differences between the Italians and the controls are, of course, in line with the differences which exist between the Italian origins populace and the total populace in Edmonton. The differences between the Italians who sought agency help and the interview sample

suggests that increased integration, including both occupational and marital, is frequently associated with adjustment problems. The kinds of problems characteristic of the Canadian born component of the Italians who sought agency help suggests that the inevitable conflicts between the Italian culture of their homes and the Canadian culture of the surrounding community does tend to have somewhat disorganizing consequences.

CRIMINAL DEVIANCE AMONG ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

In collecting data on criminal deviance among Italians in Edmonton we were able to obtain information both from the gaol records and from interviews with law enforcement officials. We shall present the results of the interviews first and then the result of the tabulations of case records. In this way the latter may be used as a partial check upon the perceptions of the officials. Where a group has as criminalistic a reputation as the popular stereotype of the Mafia-ridden Italian, it would be surprising if expectations concerning Italian criminality were not commonplace among those most concerned with crime.

The Interview Data. Interviews were held with Inspectors of the Morality Division and the Juvenile Delinquency Division and with several teachers and playground directors in the area.

The Morality Division officers reported that the Italian community does not show a high incidence of offences, even though the area is one of low socio-economic level where offences might be expected to be high. No additional police patrols are needed in the area, and those

on duty in the area find it to be quiet and in the main, law-abiding. This is true despite the fact that it borders upon one of the highest offence areas of the city. There are few "professional criminals" of Italian background. One or two are known, but they are not considered acceptable by the Italian community either, and operate mainly outside of the community. The officers reported further that gangs do not exist in the area.

The police consider the Italian people to be quiet and hard-working, probably fearful of the police and over compensating in their attempts to remain within lawful limits. Two factors may be important here. The first is fear. The Italians find themselves in a new country, with new customs, a new language, new laws, and few influential "connections" to help them out if they do get into difficulty with the law. Often they do not know just what is expected of them nor what the consequences might be of breaking the law. Thus they seem very careful to remain anonymously quiet and law-abiding in this relatively new and fearful environment. A second reason is that the opportunities available to new immigrants in this land are, for many, without precedent in the old country. Upon arrival families which were often used to deprivation and hardship in the old country are suddenly presented with an opportunity to do "well," to obtain property, and live at a standard previously not dreamed of. Thus, their efforts, as a family unit, are probably more directed in this direction leaving little time or energy for pursuits which might get them into trouble.

There were two minor exceptions to these reports of general law-abiding among the Italian immigrants. The first relates to wine-making by the Italians and the second is the very direct and "fresh"

attempts to "pick up" young women on the streets by Italian men, which gives rise to complaints to the police. With regard to wine-making, the police force seemed to be aware that the Italian people do make wine; however, upon further questioning it became clear that very rarely is an Italian ever charged with this offence. Apparently, the police force does not actively look for, nor investigate possible law-breakers in illegal wine-making; but that if an incident does come to light, the charge is laid and the individual is prosecuted. The result of conviction is a fine, which is usually fairly high. The position taken by the police in this regard is that the Italian people learn very soon after their arrival in Edmonton that wine-making is illegal in this country and cease to make wine. However, discrete questioning within the community itself leads to the conclusion that wine-making is quite common among Italians. The difference of opinion here is probably explained by the fact that the police see only those incidents of Italian made wine which result in public trouble. In fact, many Italian people apparently do make wine in their own homes, for their own use, not for sale nor profit, but probably in small quantities, and in a very discreet manner. Since the community is quiet and law-abiding in the eyes of the police force, it is not under close surveillance, and the Italian people are accordingly (unintentionally) allowed to continue in this time-honored custom. From their point of view, wine-making is not a punishable offence, it is a part of their lives, of their daily food production. While they learn quickly that it is not acceptable to the Canadian laws, they also often quietly continue to live in much the same way that they lived in the old country, is our impression.

The second minor offence that is peculiar to the Italian people--that of men approaching young women on the streets in an overly friendly fashion and trying to "pick them up"--can also be explained by referring to the customs of the old country. The Italian people are much more gregarious, funloving and more frankly appreciative of a 'pretty girl' than the more reserved Canadian. The custom in the old country is to openly show admiration and appreciation; however, this is not understood by girls in Canada, who respond with fear and resentment. Another factor is the relative unavailability of girls for the young Italian men. We have seen that there are more Italian men than women in Edmonton. Moreover, the young Italian girls are usually well chaperoned by their families, kept at home and only available if the young man is considering marriage. Many of the young men are not in a position to get married at the present time, since they are not yet well-established in home nor job. However, the officials felt that this was indeed not a serious offence and it is very rare that a charge is laid.

The inspector of the Juvenile Delinquency Division was also interviewed in attempting to discover the incidence of delinquency among Italian youths. This was our only source of information on this subject since no search was made of delinquency case records. The account of the Inspector was even more favorable to the Italian community. He asserted that there are no gangs in the Italian community. The Italian young people have the reputation of being quiet, serious, hard-working. They stay at home with their families a great deal. The girls, especially, are carefully controlled and protected by the family.

He observed that the Italian families seemed to be especially effective in controlling the behavior of their young people. In brief, he made it very clear that there is definitely no difficulty with the young people of the Italian community, despite its neighboring the most heavily delinquent section of the city.

His account was substantiated in a general way by interviews with playground supervisors and school teachers in the area. These people were in agreement that there were definitely problem children both on the playground and in the school from this low income and low rental area, but that only rarely was the problem child of Italian background. It was their opinion that the Italian children are much better behaved, more cooperative, spend more time at home rather than running around the streets, and are more anxious to achieve and to cooperate than the other children of the area. It will be remembered at this point that the Italian immigrants have moved but recently into an older, low rent, low income area which is inhabited by a number of other ethnic groups. Most of the other young people in the area are second or third generation citizens, and many of them no doubt experience in more virulent form the conflict between cultures which has been classically characteristic of ethnic delinquency. We conclude, then, that disciplinary problems on the playground and in the school are apparently often found in this area, but that they infrequently involve the Italian children. That the area itself is a relatively high incidence area makes the low rate of incidence of the Italian youngsters ^{even} more remarkable.

It is clear from this interview material that the police perceive the Italians in this city as a low offence group. They do not hold stereotypes of highly criminalistic Italians, they are generally favorably

impressed by the influence of the Italian family, and the law-abidingness of the community as a whole. They do not even press vigorously to uncover cases of wine-making in the community where both the stereotypes and abundant incidental details, like importations of large volumes of grapes by grocery stores in the area, suggest strongly that wine-making is a common practice.

However, we are not dependent solely on the reports of these interviews in this account of Italian deviancy. Analysis of the gaol records of Italian offenders arrested in Edmonton between January 1, 1964 and December 1, 1965 provides information on both the offences for which Italians were arrested, and the treatment they received at the hands of the police and the courts.

The Gaol Record Data. Data were obtained for a sample of Italian offenders and for a sample of non-Italian offenders as well, to provide a basis for comparison with the Italian data. The samples were drawn from the record file of the Edmonton city gaol covering the period from January 1, 1964 to December 1, 1965. The Italian sample included all Italians who were arrested during that period. The control group was selected by taking each non-Italian case in the files immediately following the record card of an Italian who had been arrested. In this way a total of 190 records were copied, 95 involving Italians and 95 involving the non-Italian control group members. The information copied from each case record, insofar as it was available, included the following: age, duration of residence in Canada, education, employment, marital status, religion, the offence for which the subject was arrested and the disposition of the case. Where the offender was charged with

more than one offence only the more serious one was recorded. Making use of these limited data we shall seek to arrive at such generalizations as seem warranted concerning the criminal deviancy of Italian men in Edmonton. We shall describe first the characteristics of the offenders, second the distributions of offences for which they were arrested, and third the dispositions of the cases. We shall compare the data for Italian offenders with the data for the control group, and where possible, with data drawn from the annual and monthly reports of the Edmonton Police Department.

In Table IV are found contrasted the age, residency, educational, employment, marital and religious characteristics of the Italian and the control group offenders. These data show a number of differences between the Italian and the control group. The Italian offenders are distinctly younger: 75 per cent are under the age of 35 years, whereas the figure for the control group is 53 per cent under this age. An age-sex breakdown of the Italian origins population of Edmonton is not available in the special tabulations of the 1961 census which were produced by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for its study of the effects of immigration, however, the age-sex breakdown of the Italian origins population of Alberta is available. Comparison of the age distribution of the Italian offenders with the age distribution of Italian males aged 15 years and over in the province shows that the offenders are a disproportionately young group. Seventy-five per cent of the offenders are under 35 years of age. It is noteworthy, also that the Italian data for 1965 show a notable increase in arrests of men under 20 years of age, an increase which is not paralleled in the control

TABLE IV

AGE, DURATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT STATUS, MARITAL STATUS AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
OF ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL SAMPLES OF MEN ARRESTED IN EDMONTON BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1964
AND DECEMBER 1, 1965, WITH PERCENTAGES

AGE (Years)																
-16	17-19	20-22	23-25	26-28	29-31	32-35	35-37	38-40	41-43	44-46	47-49	50-52	53+	No. Cases		
Italians, 1964	0	5	6	9	3	8	6	5	5	3	0	0	0	50		
1965	1	10	6	3	4	5	5	2	3	2	0	1	2	45		
Total	1	15	12	12	7	13	11	7	8	5	0	1	2	95		
Control, 1964	0	3	5	5	4	6	3	6	3	2	4	5	2	51		
1965	2	0	9	5	4	3	1	3	4	2	2	6	1	44		
Total	2	3	14	10	8	9	4	9	7	4	6	11	3	95		
TIME IN CANADA (Years)																
1-4	5-8	9-12	13-16	17-20	21-24	25-28	29-32	33-36	37-40	40+	Since Birth	Not Reptd	No. Cases			
Italians, 1964	4	6	14	7	2	0	1	0	0	0	15	1	50			
1965	2	10	12	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	14	0	45			
Total	6	16	16	12	2	0	1	0	1	1	29	1	95			
Control	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	46	1	51			
1965	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	38	0	44			
Total	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	84	1	95			
EDUCATION (Years)																
0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12	Univ.	No Response	No. Cases									
Italians	1	16	18	45	3	0	95									
Control	3	8	32	33	4	2	95									
EMPLOYMENT																
Employed				Unemployed				Student	No Response	No. Cases						
59				32				4	0	95						
51				42				0	2	95						

TABLE IV (Continued)

	MARITAL STATUS					No. Response	No. Cases
	Married	Single	Separated, Widowed, Divorced	Other	No.		
Italians	27	65	3		0		95
Control	32	47	12		4		95

	RELIGION					No. Cases
	None	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Greek Orthodox	
Italians	2	88	5	0	0	95
Control	5	40	45	1	1	95

group data.

Comparison of the Italian offenders with the control group on duration of Canadian residence is, of course, fruitless but there are some interesting differences between the Italian offender group and the Italian population of Edmonton according to the census figures. It is clear that the offenders are Canadian born, and are long term residents of Canada much more frequently than the total Italian population of Edmonton. This is, of course, in accord with the findings of other studies of immigrant deviancy; higher rates are characteristic of the longer term residents and of the second generation.

In terms of education the two offender groups are surprisingly comparable. The Italian group is overrepresented in the grades three to five and nine to eleven categories, and the control group is overrepresented in the grade six to eight category, but otherwise the two are quite comparable. In the light of the discussion in Chapter III of the educational characteristics of the Italian populace in Edmonton, this points to an important difference between the offender and the non-offender groups; the former are both younger and much better educated than the latter.

The data in the table show that the incidence of unemployment is higher in the control group (44 per cent) than it is in the Italian offender group (34 per cent). More to the point, however, is the fact that it is much higher in the Italian offender sample than it is in the sample which we interviewed, which showed 79 per cent of the 409 men contacted directly or indirectly were employed full time and another 12.5 per cent were employed part time. It is also much higher than the

5.5 per cent unemployed among Italians in Edmonton reported in the 1961 census data.

About the same low proportion of offenders are married among the Italian and the control offender groups. However, predictably, the latter group has a much higher proportion of separated, widowed and divorced than does the former group. It is noteworthy that although married men make up 72 per cent of the Italian origins male group aged 15 years and over according to the 1961 census information, they comprise only 28 per cent of the Italian offender group.

The samples are not remarkable in terms of religion. The Italian offenders are almost exclusively Roman Catholic but the proportion of Protestants is larger than it is in the total Italian populace. The majority of the control group are Protestant, but there is a very large Catholic minority.

Thus the Italian offender groups, in contrast to the control group, is definitely younger, has resided for a shorter period in Canada, is more frequently employed, is less often separated, widowed, or divorced, is about as well educated and is more exclusively Roman Catholic. In contrast to the total Italian populace in Edmonton, the Italian offender group is younger, has resided for a longer period of time in Canada and is more often Canadian born, is more often single, is definitely better educated, is much more frequently unemployed, and religiously is slightly more often Protestant.

Turning to the offences for which the Italians in the sample were arrested, the first question which is of interest is how does the incidence of Italian crime compare with the incidence of crime for the population of the city of Edmonton? The Edmonton Police Department

Annual Report for 1964 and the monthly reports for 1965 through the month of November show a total of 15,121 adult males charged with criminal offenses exclusive of driving offences during this period. It is estimated on the basis of city and census data that there were about 123,000 men aged fifteen years and over in the city at the end of that period. Thus the police data indicate that there was one crime for every 8.1 adult males in the city during the thirteen month period for which statistics were gathered. A very high proportion of these 15,000 offence cases involved liquor violation--intoxication or illegal possession--almost 9,500 in all. If these were eliminated from consideration, the crime rate drops to one for every 21.7 males. The comparable figures for the Italians, as drawn from the gaol files are a total of 58 criminal offences exclusive of driving offences. It is estimated on the basis of data from the special census tabulation that at the end of the period under consideration there were about 2,138 Italian males aged fifteen years and over in the city.¹ The crime rate for Italians

¹This figure was arrived at as follows: the 1961 census tabulation shows that there were 1,638 Italian males aged 15 years and over in the city of Edmonton at the time that the census was taken. The special immigrant tabulation shows that during the five years from 1951 through 1955, 598 Italian males aged 15 years and over settled in Edmonton, and during the four years from 1956 through 1960 the figure was 528. Extrapolating from these figures, we estimate that between June, 1961 and November, 1965 approximately 500 more Italian males over 14 years of age will have come to Edmonton.

based on these figures is one crime for every 36.9 adult Italian men. If we eliminate the 17 cases involving liquor violation, the rate is one crime for every 52.1 men. It is very clear from these figures that the crime rate for Italians is remarkably lower than that of the

Edmonton male populace, only 40 per cent of the latter in fact, even with the elimination of the liquor offences which were very frequent for the total male populace but relatively infrequent for the Italians.

A second question which is of interest is how does the distribution of types of Italian crimes compare with the crime distribution of the total male populace in Edmonton? We have two bases for answering this question. The first is a comparison of the proportions which each non-driving criminal offence represents of the total offence enumeration for the total male offender group and for the Italian male offender group. The other is a comparison of the frequencies of various categories of offences for the Italian offender sample with the control group offender sample. We shall consider each of these in turn.

A comparison of the proportions which the frequencies of arrests for various categories contribute to the total of arrests for all adult male offenders in Edmonton and for the Italian sample is found in Table V. The table shows that the Italians are markedly underrepresented in the intoxicated and illegal possession of liquor offence categories, and they are markedly overrepresented in the "causing a disturbance and public mischief" and thefts under fifty dollars and illegal selling of liquor categories. Other offence categories in which they are underrepresented include, vagrancy and minor obtaining liquor, and other offences in which they are overrepresented include being found in a gaming house, frauds, and common assaults. This comparison shows that while the incidence of Italian offences is remarkably low, many of the offences in which they are overrepresented are somewhat more serious offences.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTIONS OF OFFENCES WITH WHICH ITALIAN ORIGINS SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION OF MEN ARRESTED IN EDMONTON BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1964 and DECEMBER 1, 1965 WERE CHARGED, WITH PERCENTAGES

Category of Offence	1964-1965 Total Population		Italian Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Disturbance & Mischief	1,019	6.8	11	21.2
Vagrancy	744	5.0	2	3.8
Trespassing, Loitering	86	0.6	0	0.0
Attempt Suicide	59	0.4	0	0.0
Indecent Acts	56	0.4	1	1.9
Intoxication	6,329	42.2	12	23.1
Illegal Possession Liquor	3,130	20.8	5	9.7
Illegal Selling Liquor	253	1.7	3	5.8
Minor on Licensed Premises	816	5.4	1	1.9
Frauds	336	2.2	3	5.8
Breaking & Entering	478	3.2	2	3.8
Theft Under \$50	206	1.4	4	7.7
Theft Over \$50	115	0.8	0	0.0
Possession of Weapons	89	0.6	1	1.9
Common Assaults	275	1.8	3	5.8
Procuring Prostitutes	3	0.01	1	1.9
Gaming House	351	2.3	2	3.8
Contributing	155	1.0	1	1.9
Change of Address	515	3.4	0.	0.0
Total	15,015	100.0	52	100.0

A comparison of the frequencies of arrests for various categories of offences of the Italian and the control group offender samples is found in Table VI. The offences included in the sample of arrest cases for the two samples are generally quite mild. The most serious offence was breaking and entering, and there were only 22 cases of indictable offences, excluding driving offences which we were not able to classify because of insufficient information. The most frequent offences were driving offences, which included 23 per cent of the total of 190 arrests for the two samples, and intoxication, which made up 20 per cent. There were a number of noteworthy differences in the distributions of offences between the Italian and the control groups, as the data in Table VI show. The Italians were more frequently charged with indictable offences; they were more often arrested for by-laws charges--in most cases for ignoring court orders in connection with traffic and parking violations, according to police officers--and for disturbance. The control group members were more often arrested for intoxication.

Several conclusions are justified on the basis of these offence data. In the first place it is clear that Italians make a very small contribution to the total crime picture in Edmonton. In 1964 there were only 50 adult male arrests, and during the first eleven months of 1965 there were only 45. Moreover, only four of the 95 Italian arrests were for "serious crimes," assault, theft over fifty dollars, or breaking and entering.

In the second place, the differences between the offence category incidences of the Italian and the control groups fall into a rather clear pattern. It appears that Italians have a high proportion of arrests on some charges, in

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTIONS OF OFFENCES WITH WHICH ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL SAMPLES
OF MEN ARRESTED IN EDMONTON WERE CHARGED,

Categories of Arrests	Frequency	
	Italian	Control
Bylaw	17	9
Driving -	19	24
Disturbance and Mischief	11	2
Vagrancy	2	4
Trespassing	0	3
Intoxication	12	26
Illegal Possession and Selling Liquor	9	7
Gaming House	2	1
False Pretenses and Fraud	3	0
Possession of Weapons	1	1
Breaking and Entering	2	1
Theft	4	3
Assault	3	0
Miscellaneous, including attempted suicide, nudity, contempt, etc.	6	4
No report	4	10
TOTAL	95	95

some cases because of ignorance, in other cases because of the Italian conception of boisterous fun, and in yet other cases because of criminal activity. The high frequency of by-laws charges are probably the result of the ignorance of Italian offenders to how traffic and parking citations are to be taken care of, and perhaps of their expectation that police here will act in the same way as Italian police do. The fact that eleven out of thirteen of the disturbance charges in our data involve Italians may reflect some of the same Italian characteristics which are also seen in their being overly "forward" toward girls. But it is also clear, when the pattern of offences of the Italians is compared with that of the control group, that there is a higher incidence of more serious offences among them. One indication of this is that Italians were arrested for more than twice as often as controls for indictable offences. Another is that in most of the more serious charges--fraud, breaking and entering, theft, assault, the frequencies of Italians involved were higher than were those of the controls. Thus, although Italians are not now involved in very serious crimes, their offences involve a higher frequency of medially serious and a lower frequency of more trifling offences than do those of the control group.

We now turn to the data on dispositions of the arrest cases. Table VII shows that there are interesting differences in the frequencies of various categories of case dispositions between the Italian and the control groups as well as in the kinds of offences. The judgements of Italians were more frequently fines with size not specified in the records and more frequently prison sentences of over thirty days. The judgements of control group members were more frequently Time in Custody imprisonment, imprisonments of less than thirty days, and fines

TABLE VII

DISPOSITIONS OF CASES OF THE ITALIAN ORIGINS AND CONTROL SAMPLES OF MALE
ARRESTS IN EDMONTON, JANUARY 1, 1964-DECEMBER 1, 1965

	Italian	Control
Bailed	4	5
Withdrawn- Released	5	3
Suspended Sentence	3	6
Time in Custody	9	16
Total no further penalty	17	25
Prison 1 - 30 days	3	13
Prison 31 days - 2 years	7	1
Fine and Prison	2	0
Total Prison ^a	12	14
Fine \$10 - \$39	17	14
Fine \$40 - \$79	1	2
Fine \$80+	6	11
Unspecified Fine	28	13
Fine and Prison	4	5
Total Fine ^a	56	45
No Report	6	5
Total Cases	95	95

^aLess "Fine or Prison."

over \$75.00. Thus, in brief, the judgements against the control group members were less severe than were those against the Italians. They were more frequently released without further punishment, i.e., released, suspended sentence, or time in custody. Although they served more prison sentences, most of them were short ones. The unspecified fine category with respect to which Italian cases predominated were probably small fines; most of them were in connection with by-law and driving offences. But seven out of eight of the prison sentences of over thirty days were judgements against Italians. This is clearly what should be expected, since most of the more serious, indictable offences in the two samples were against Italians.

Summary. Several facts appear to have been established in this section of the chapter which has dealt with unlawful deviance. (1) The police officials of Edmonton do not perceive the Italians of the city as an unusually criminal group, but rather as a group having a low crime rate, and do not subject them to the kind of close surveillance which might be experienced as police harassment. The analysis of the samples of arrests of Italians and a control group, drawn from the Edmonton city gaol records resulted in a number of important findings. In comparison with the rest of the Italian origins group in the city, the offenders were young, less better educated, and more often Canadian born, or a long time resident of Canada. They were more frequently unemployed, and more often single.

The incidence of arrests of Italian men is remarkably low, only 22 per cent of that of the total Edmonton adult male population, if liquor

offences are included, and 40 per cent of the total male group if liquor offences are excluded. In comparison with the statistics for all Edmonton males, the Italians are distinctly underrepresented in the intoxicated and illegal possession of liquor offence categories, and they are overrepresented in the "causing a disturbance," illegal sale of liquor, thefts under fifty dollars, frauds, and common assaults offence categories. Although during the ²³ months surveyed, Italians had not committed any very serious offences, nevertheless they had a higher proportion of more serious offences than did the control group sample.

The judgements against Italians were found to be more severe. They were less frequently released without further penalty, more often fined, and although less often imprisoned than the control group, all but one of the sentences over thirty days were pronounced against Italians.

It appears from this that the social controls within the Italian community are thus far unusually effective, Much more so than within the rest of the city as a whole. But it also appears that these controls will probably erode, and the Italian crime rate will rise, as more Italians are longer duration residents or Canadian born. The higher crime rate for native Canadian born than for Italian born Italian origins men, and the increase in 1965 of Italian offenders under 20 years of age clearly substantiate this statement. If the Italian community remains relatively small, if Italians continue to be able to leave the disor-
which
ganization of the area in/the community is now centered in large numbers, as they currently do, if they continue to be able to climb the occupational

mobility ladder en mass so that legitimate employment continues to channel their energies and ambitions, the crime rate may be expected to remain low. But if these conditions are not met, the Italian crime rate will inevitably realize the potential for rapid increase which is clearly envisageable at present. If that happens the stereotype of the criminal, Mafia serving Italians, which is now dormant, will become revived; the police, acting in response to the higher crime rate, and perhaps the stereotype as well, will subject Italian areas to more close surveillance which the residents of the area will experience as harassment. Hatred of the police and defiance of the law purely for the sake of defiance may become more general.

Thus, there appear to be reasons for anticipating either a continuing low rate of Italian crime or an increase in that rate which could become very marked, depending on the future growth of the Italian populace and the future of the prairie economy. But the experience of other immigrant groups would clearly lead to a prediction of an increase in the rate.

CHAPTER XIII

ACCOMMODATION OF ITALIANS AND UKRAINIANS TO CANADIAN SOCIETY: A COMPARISON

At a number of times during the course of this report we have had occasion to alude to the study of Ukrainian adjustment in Alberta, which was done under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation. Since the objectives of that study are very similar to those of the present one, and since much of the interviewing for that study was done less than two years before the interviewing for the present study was completed, and also since about three-fourths of the items on the two interview schedules are comparable, it appears fruitful to draw some comparisons between the findings of the two studies. This is our task in the present chapter. Limitations of space prevent this being more than a brief overview, since an adequate comparison would necessarily exceed the length of the present report.

In this Chapter we shall first discuss some of the similarities and dis-similarities between the Ukrainian and the Italian samples. This is followed by a delimited, but detailed presentation of some of the findings from the Ukrainian study. Finally, the similarities and dis-similarities between these findings and the Italian study findings will be described, and some generalizations about similarities and dis-similarities in the process of accommodation to Canadian society, as these two immigrant groups have experienced it, will be developed.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO SAMPLES

The major basis for asserting the comparability of the Ukrainian

and the Italian populations in Alberta is that both of them are immigrant peoples largely from a rural peasant background who have come to Canada relatively recently, and who demonstrate a hard-working eagerness to establish themselves and to become successful in their new home. The major differences between the two are that the Ukrainians first began to arrive in large numbers in Alberta a full half century before there was a large scale Italian immigration, and they first settled in rural areas as farmers. Many still remain in these areas and half of the 809 Ukrainians who were interviewed were contacted in the vicinity of three rural communities, Willingdon, Thorhild, and Lamont. The remaining half were interviewed in Edmonton. The Italians, of course, were all interviewed in Edmonton. One result is that the Italian sample is, with two exceptions, foreign born, whereas 69 per cent of the Ukrainian sample is Canadian born. Another result is that whereas all of the Italians were employed in urban occupations, 40 per cent of the Ukrainians (men and husbands of women interviewed) were farmers.

The recency of the Italian migration also explains the fact that the Italian sample is younger than is the Ukrainian sample; 46 per cent of the former are under 35 years of age, and only 13 per cent are aged 60 years or over, whereas for the latter group the proportions are 29 per cent and 40 per cent, respectively.

There are a number of other differences which should be noted. The Ukrainian group is a more exclusively rural origins group; 82 per cent of their fathers were farmers, whereas only 44 per cent of the fathers of Italian sample members were farmers. Eighteen per cent of the fathers of the Italian sample members had had no formal schooling

but for the Ukrainian sample this figure was twice as large, 38 per cent, though it should be remembered that the Ukrainian sample is older. Since the majority of the Ukrainians interviewed were Canadian born and raised they had much better educational opportunities than did the Italians. Forty-seven per cent of the former group have gone beyond grade eight in school, whereas only nine per cent of the Italians have.

One result of these educational differentials between the two samples is that, if we exclude the farmers from consideration, the occupational placement of Ukrainians is considerably higher than that of Italians. Forty-eight per cent of the latter are unskilled laborers, whereas only 20 per cent of the Ukrainian men were in that occupational category. Sixty-three per cent of the non-farming Ukrainian men were in occupations above the semi-skilled operative level, whereas the proportion for Italians was only 28 per cent. Again, the recency of arrival of most of the Italian sample members is causally relevant here since many men who, in their early years of employment in a new country work in unskilled capacities, later graduate to semi-skilled or skilled employment or to landlord or small shopkeeper sources of livelihood.

A basic difference in the attitude-motivation aspect of the two samples is that since over 60 per cent of the Italian sample members have been in this country less than ten years, the ambivalence inevitable to such a significant action as removal from one country having one language tradition and one cultural heritage to another on a different continent, having a different language and culture, is doubtless still strong. Doubts as to the wisdom of the first move, and deliberation of returning to the old country may be chronic in many of the Italians

whom we interviewed. However, more than two-thirds of the Ukrainians are Canadian born, and most of the remainder have been in Canada most of their lives; thus, the ambivalence that they once felt has been resolved. Communist control of the Ukraine has come since many of the Ukrainian born members of the sample left the old country, and for some this has cooled the yearning to return which they once felt.

It should not be assumed, ^{that} because the Ukraine does not exist as an independent country, and because many of the Ukrainians in Canada have been born here, that Ukrainian nationalism is virtually defunct, however. Ukrainians have longed for a separate national existence for 800 years; it is a dream which has become rooted in both folk and literate culture. It has persisted in the commitments of many Ukrainians in this country, where it is the basis for strong continuing nationalistic sentiments and for dedication to the survival of cultural traits, including especially language, and to a lesser extent, literature, music, and dance forms. Thus, it appears likely that the two samples may be roughly comparable in terms of strength of nationalistic sentiment.

There are at least two other ways in which the samples are similar. Although two-thirds of the Ukrainians were born in this country, because their fathers had turned to farming in areas of block Ukrainian settlement in which peasant practices persisted with little modification, the two samples are alike in that a high proportion of their members were raised under rural peasant conditions. Very many of the Ukrainian sample members, like many of the Italian sample members, were raised under rural peasant conditions. The other basis of similarity

is that both groups are quite homogeneous, and distinctive religiously. The Ukrainians who came to this country were predominantly of the Orthodox or Greek Catholic tradition, with a small proportion of Roman Catholics, and the Italians are, of course, almost exclusively Roman Catholic. Those of both groups who settled in Alberta have settled in a predominantly Protestant area, such that both find themselves as rather distinctive religious minorities.

In sum, there are a number of points of basic similarity between the Ukrainians and the Italians in Alberta. The basic similarity is that most of both groups have come as ill educated, religiously homogeneous peasant peoples. The basic point of dissimilarity is that most of the Ukrainians arrived between 40 and 50 years before the Italians began arriving in large number. But the process of acculturation and integration of the Ukrainians was retarded by the fact that they initially settled in compact blocks, so that their ability to continue traditional customs was maximized and their contact with agents of Canadian culture was minimized. In view of all of this we would rather expect that the Ukrainians would show largely the same pattern of correlates of accommodation as the Italians, and that in exploring the accommodation process of the Ukrainians we might indeed learn a little of the problems of the future of the Italians.

In the analyses which follow only those Ukrainians who were living in Edmonton when interviewed, 290 subjects in all, were included in the tabulations, in order to maximize the comparability of the Ukrainian and Italian samples.

CORRELATES OF UKRAINIAN ADJUSTMENT TO CANADIAN SOCIETY

In this section we shall recapitulate in miniature the plan of analysis followed in Chapters V through VIII in the present study. The reasons are that if comparisons between the accommodative processes of

two different ethnic groups are to be made they could be made on comparable bases. Comparability has been insured, in the present case, by replicating the analysis reported in this monograph, using shored lists of independent and dependent variables. The dependent variable list was cut by eliminating the more marginal indices of the various accommodation areas. The independent variable list was cut by eliminating variables which were in the middle of the range in terms of predictive power; that is, the variables which were used were those which were most frequently or least frequently significantly associated with the criterion variables in the Italian study.

A list of the independent variables is found in Table I, and a list of the dependent variables, together with identification of the accommodation areas to which they pertain, is found in Table II. In this section we shall briefly present the pattern of significant associations between the independent and the dependent variables, organized according to areas of accommodation. This will be followed by a discussion of the overall predictive power of the independent variables and the relative frequency of significant associations of the different areas of accommodation, such as is found for the Italians in Chapter X.

Economic Adjustment. The relationships between the independent variables and three indices of economic adjustment--current occupational level, income, and man's mobility compared with the father's--is found in Table III. The relationships can be quickly summarized. Good economic adjustment is directly associated with being Canadian born, with education, with level of the father's occupation, with current

TABLE I

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF UKRAINIAN DATA

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Demographic

Sex

Age

Canadian Born

Ecological

Geographical Mobility

Personality

Attend Church

Chauvinism

Neuroticism

Alienation

Social Status

Education

Father's Occupation

Social Class

Level of Current Occupation

Level of 1st Occupation

Cultural Exposure

Intermarriage

Read Ukrainian papers

Read English Magazines

TV Frequency

People as Sources of Information

Newspapers Source

Siblings Intermarry

TABLE II

DEPENDENT VARIABLES USED IN ANALYSIS OF UKRAINIAN DATA

DEPENDENT VARIABLES	(Continued)
Economic Adjustment Indices	Assimilation Indices
Current Occupation Level	Intermarried
Income	Siblings Intermarried
Man's Mobility	Discourage Intermarriage
Social Adjustment Indices	Reject Ukrainianisms
"Invited Out."	Change Name
Number of Close Friends	
Personal Adjustment Indices	
Anomie	
Alienation	
Neuroticism	
Satisfaction Indices	
Experiences Discrimination	
Criticisms of Canada	
Social Integration Indices	
Number of Non-Ukrainian Friends	
Membership in Associations	
Leadership in Associations	
Political Integration Indices	
Vote for Ukrainian Candidate	
Ukrainian Candidate to Defend Interests	
Dominion Politics Important	
Economic Integration Indices	
Protestant Ethic	
Religious Integration Indices	
Changed Churches	
Attend Non-Ukrainian Church	
Acculturation Indices	
Chauvinism Scores	
Establish Ukrainian Schools	
Child Dominance	
Success as a Value	
Being Well Liked as a Value	

TABLE III

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT INDICES WITH THE INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Current Occupational Level	Income	Man's Mobility
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept / Independent Variables	+	+	+
Demographic			
Sex	0	0	0
Age	-.1%	-.1%	-1%
Canadian Born	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	-.1%	-2%	-5%
Personality			
Attend Church	0	+5%	0
Chauvinism	-2%	0	±2%
Neuroticism	0	0	±5%
Alienation	-1%	-5%	-2%
Social Status			
Education	+.1%	+.1%	±.1%
Father's Occupation	+1%	+1%	-.1%
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	R	+.1%	+.1%
Level of 1st Occupation	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	+5%	+1%	+5%
Read Ukrainian papers	+5%	-5%	-2%
Read English Magazines	+1%	+1%	+1%
TV Frequency	+5%	±5%	+5%
People Information Source	-1%	-2%	-2%
Newspaper Source	+5%	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	+5%	+5%	0
Total Significant Relationships	15	15	15

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

occupational level, with the level of the first job held, with intermarriage of self and siblings, with reading English newspapers, and with frequent watching of television. It is inversely associated with age, with chauvinism, with alienation, with geographical mobility, with reading Ukrainian newspapers, and with mentioning people as a source of information. Frequency of church attendance is associated directly only with income. Neuroticism is associated only with mobility, in a curvilinear fashion, and mentioning newspapers as a source of information is directly associated with level of current occupation.

In summary, good economic adjustment among Ukrainians in Edmonton is characteristic of younger, native born people who score low on alienation and chauvinism, who come from higher class backgrounds in terms of their father's occupations and their own educational attainments, who are themselves, or have siblings who are intermarried, are not geographically mobile in terms of frequent change of address, don't read Ukrainian newspapers but do read English magazines, watch television rather frequently, and do not cite people as a source of information. By contrast with the Italian picture of the association of independent variables with the economic adjustment indices, the relationships just described are stronger and more consistent. This is perhaps to be expected since the range of variability in terms of experience in Canadian society is greater in the Ukrainian sample than in the Italian sample. Most of the latter had been in Canada less than nine years, whereas slightly more than one-third of the Ukrainians were born in Canada. The points of significant contrast between the Italian and the Ukrainian findings are relatively few. Frequent church attendance was associated with economic maladjustment among the Italians but

the reverse is the case with the Ukrainians. Reading Italian papers was not so clearly associated with economic maladjustment of Italians as is reading Ukrainian papers among Ukrainians, nor was more frequent viewing of television as consistently associated with adjustment among Italians as it is for the Ukrainians. In most respects, however, the two sets of relationships are quite consistent for the economic adjustment indices.

Social Adjustment. Two indices of social adjustment were used: the number of close friends mentioned by respondents and the response to "I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like." The relationships between these indices and the independent variables are found in Table IV. Having many friends is directly associated with frequent church attendance, with reading English newspapers and with frequent television viewing, and inversely associated with alienation scores, with the level of the father's occupation, and with the level of the man's first job. The relationship of education to number of close friends is curvilinear. Dissatisfaction with invitations received is directly associated with age, alienation, mentioning people as a source of information, and inversely associated with frequency of church attendance, education, current occupational level, level of the man's first job, and reading of English magazines.

In summary, social adjustment is associated with frequent church attendance, with low alienation, with a higher class background with reading English magazines, with youthfulness, with not mentioning people as a source of information, and with frequent television viewing. There

TABLE IV

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Relationship of Index to Criterion	Invited Out	Number of Close Friends
Concept	-	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Demographic		
Sex	0	0
Age	+1%	0
Canadian Born	0	0
Ecological		
Geographical Mobility	0	0
Personality		
Attend Church	-5%	+5%
Chauvinism	0	0
Neuroticism	0	0
Alienation	+1%	-1%
Social Status		
Education	-1%	+1%
Father's Occupation	+5%	-2%
Social Class		
Level of Current Occupation	-1%	0
Level of 1st Occupation	-5%	-5%
Cultural Exposure		
Intermarriage	0	0
Read Ukrainian Papers	0	0
Read English Magazines	-5%	+5%
TV Frequency	0	+5%
People Information Sources	+5%	0
Newspapers Sources	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	0	0
Total Significant Relationships	9	7

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

were some incongruous findings of the Italian study concerning social adjustment which are also found for the Ukrainians. Among Italians, numerous close friends were more characteristic of lower class and peasant oriented members of the sample, but expressions of loneliness were also more characteristic of these same types. The explanation apparently was that although they had more friends than higher class Italians they still reacted negatively to encountering so many strangers. There are indications that higher class Ukrainians also tend to have fewer friends than lower class Ukrainians, and that the latter express more dissatisfaction with their friendships.

For both Ukrainians and Italians reading English papers was directly associated with number of friendships and satisfaction with friendships; alienation scores were inversely associated with both. For both groups age was inversely associated with satisfaction with friendships. Thus the findings with respect to social adjustment for both groups are very nearly identical.

Personal Adjustment. Three indices of personal adjustment were used in this synoptic review of the relationships between accommodation indices and the independent variables; anomie, alienation, and neuroticism scores. The relationships of these variables with the independent variables are summarized in Table V. Because of the significance of personal relationships for personal adjustment two more independent variables were included in this analysis, number of close friends, and having close non-Ukrainian friends.

The data in the table show that the patterns of significant

TABLE V

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES WITH THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Anomie	Alienation	Neuroticism
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	-	-	-
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Demographic			
Sex	0	Female +5%	Female +1%
Age	+1%	+1%	-5%
Canadian Born	-1%	-1%	+5%
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	+5%	+5%	+5%
Rural-Urban	0	0	0
Personality			
Attend Church	-5%	0	0
Chauvinism	+2%	+1%	+5%
Neuroticism	+5%	+5%	R
Alienation	+1%	R	+5%
Social Status			
Education	-1%	-1%	+5%
Father's Occupation	-5%	-5%	0
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	-2%	-1%	0
Level of 1st Occupation	-5%	-1%	0
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	-5%	-1%	+5%
Read Ukrainian Papers	+5%	+1%	-5%
Read English Magazines	-5%	-1%	0
TV Frequency	-5%	-1%	0
People Information Source	0	+1%	0
Newspapers Source	0	0	-5%
Siblings Intermarry	-5%	0	0
Interpersonal Relationships			
Number of Close Friends	0	-1%	0
Has Non-Ukrainian Close Friends	-1%	-1%	0
Total Significant Relationships	17	18	10

^a+ = Positive relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

associations between anomie and alienation are very similar, whereas that of neuroticism is quite different. Anomie and alienation are directly associated with age, physical mobility, chauvinism, neuroticism, and reading Ukrainian newspapers. They are inversely associated with being Canadian born, with education, with levels of the father's occupation, the man's current occupation, and his first job, with intermarriage, with reading English magazines, with frequency of viewing television, and with having non-Ukrainian close friends. Alienation is also associated directly with citing people as a source of information and inversely with number of closer friends. Anomie is associated inversely with intermarriage of siblings.

Neuroticism is associated directly with being Canadian born, with physical mobility, with alienation, and with rejection of Ukrainianism, and inversely with age, with reading Ukrainian newspapers, and with citing newspapers as a source of information. It is associated in a curvilinear fashion with chauvinism, education, and intermarriage such that those who had low chauvinism scores, who were intermarried, and who were well educated tended to have very high or very low neuroticism scores.

It is clear from these data that anomie-alienation and neuroticism measure different things. The first two appear to be indices of adjustment, whereas the second appears to be an index of intra-psychic conflict. The basis for this conception is that a number of the independent variables which are normally predictive of accommodation to Canadian society, youth, not reading Ukrainian newspapers, intermarriage, advanced education, and which are associated with low alienation and anomie scores, are associated (directly or in a curvilinear fashion)

with high neuroticism scores. Moreover, either extreme of chauvinism and high rejection of Ukrainianism, are characteristic of those with high neuroticism scores. It would appear from this pattern that those who have high neuroticism scores are frequently second generation Ukrainians, who are well educated and perhaps married to non-Ukrainians, and feel ashamed and/or handicapped by their Ukrainian background, who experience neurotic conflicts. This pattern which we have just described is not true of high anomie and/or alienation scores; low scores are associated with the usual pattern of independent variable characteristics which we have found are predictive of accommodation on other indices.

The comparable findings in the Italian study are virtually identical for the alienation and anomie variables, although as usual the relationships for the Ukrainian data between these variables and the independent variables are stronger and more consistent than those found in the Italian analysis. However, the pattern of significant relationships between the neuroticism scores and the independent variables are quite different for the Italian and the Ukrainian data. For the former, the pattern of significant relationships of the neuroticism variable was largely the same as the anomie and the alienation variables, and we have seen that a factor analysis of the alienation, anomie, neuroticism, and extraversion scores using the Italian data did not produce evidence of the neuroticism scores as indexing a new factor. This discrepancy between the two sets of findings does accord with our interpretation. If in Ukrainians it taps a neurotic conflict over Ukrainian identity which is distinctively characteristic of second generation Ukrainians, since no second generation Italians are included in our sample--we would not expect to find such a pattern reflected in the Italian data--and we did not find it.

This comparison appears to demonstrate rather clearly within the limits of the data analyzed that the independent variables associated with good and bad personal adjustment are largely the same for the Italian and the Ukrainian samples, when adjustment is indexed by the anomie and alienation scores. However, the neuroticism scores appear to index conflict over Ukrainian identity and the independent variables associated with it show that it is the Canadian born better educated subjects who reject Ukrainianism, who more frequently experience the conflict. Among the Italians, however, the neuroticism scores appear to index many of the same factors as the alienation and anomie scores since the patterns of significant associations of the three with the independent variables are very much the same. It is perhaps reasonable to anticipate that in time second generation Italians may come to experience ethnic identity conflict similar to that of the second generation Ukrainians.

Conclusion. This comparison of the correlates of economic, social and personal adjustment as found in the Italian and the Ukrainian studies suggests that the processes of adjustment are very nearly the same for both ethnic groups. The pattern of significant relationships between the adjustment indices and the independent variables is stronger and more consistent for the Ukrainian data than for the Italian data, but this is to be expected since there is a greater spread of experience in Canada in the former group. The few differences in patterns of significant relationships with independent variables which were found between the two groups are probably a result of the more advanced adjustment experience of the Ukrainians. These differences include the

direct association with economic adjustment of church attendance, viewing television, and not reading Ukrainian papers, for the Ukrainians only, and the existence of what we have been calling a disturbing or neurotic conflict over ethnic identity among second generation Ukrainians. It appears unlikely that the Catholic Church, to which virtually all of the Italians belong, will ever come to have the success and achievement emphasis which the churches Ukrainians attend appear to have for them. But it is quite likely that as the English facility of the Italians in Edmonton improves, television viewing will be less purely diversionary and will have more^{of} the acculturational significance for them and that reading native language newspapers will have increasingly negative implications for economic adjustment. Certainly more conflict over Italian identity may be expected for second generation Italians than for their fathers, especially since Italian immigration is continuing at peak levels.¹ The data suggest no significant differences in the

¹A news item reports that in 1964 Italians were the third largest group of immigrants to Canada, surpassed only by British and American Immigrants.

processes of social adjustment of Italians and Ukrainians.

CORRELATES OF SATISFACTION WITH CANADA AMONG UKRAINIANS

Two indices of satisfaction were used in this brief overview of the findings of the Ukrainian study; whether or not the subject claimed to have experienced discrimination, and whether or not he mentioned criticisms of Canadian society. No satisfaction score was available as was used in the Italian study since the items used there were not appropriate to a largely native born group.

The relationships between the two indices of satisfaction and the independent variables are found in Table VI. The pattern of significant relationships found there is the most meagre of any to be considered in this report. Claiming discrimination is distinctively characteristic only of men and of those who are infrequently physically mobile. Mentioning criticisms of Canadian society is directly associated with education, and levels of the first job held and of current occupation. It is associated in a curvilinear fashion with neuroticism such that those who mention no criticisms have high or low neuroticism scores.

In the Italian study it was the better educated, more highly skilled, and more alienated men in the sample who tended most often to have been the victims of discrimination, but clearly the Ukrainian data show no such pattern. This was not because none claimed to have experienced discrimination; over one-third of the sample (34.5 per cent) claimed to have experienced it "often," "once in a while," or "just a few times." It may be that experience of discrimination is more frequently claimed by higher class Italian men who are ambivalent about living in Canada and may at times think longingly of the career opportunities and the gratifying style of life which they gave up in coming to this country. The majority of Ukrainian men in the sample were so unequivocally committed to Canadian residence that such feelings as "The grass is greener back home" did not colour their reporting of discriminatory encounters. Clearly there are differences between Ukrainians and Italians in the correlates of experienced discrimination; we suspect that a major factor is that Italians might more likely yearn for the old country than Ukrainians.

TABLE VI

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SATISFACTION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a
AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	Discrimination	Criticism of Canada
	-	-
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Demographic		
Sex	Male +5%	0
Age	0	0
Canadian Born	0	0
Ecological		
Geographical Mobility	-5%	0
Personality		
Attend Church	0	0
Chauvinism	0	0
Neuroticism	0	±5%
Alienation	0	0
Social Status		
Education	0	+5%
Father's Occupation	0	0
Social Class		
Level of Current Occupation	0	+5%
Level of 1st Occupation	0	+5%
Cultural Exposure		
Intermarriage	0	0
Read Ukrainian papers	0	0
Read English Magazines	0	0
TV Frequency	0	0
People Information Source	0	0
Newspapers Source	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	0	0
Total Significant Relationships	2	4

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; Ø = no significant relationship.

The Italian and the Ukrainian samples are alike in the correlates of making criticisms of Canadian life, except that there are far more correlates in the case of the former than the latter. For the Italians, criticizing is associated not only with current occupational level, education, first occupational level and neuroticism as it is with Ukrainians, but also with not having close non-Italian friends, with intermarriage, with reading English newspapers, father's occupation, and alienation as well. Again, we suspect that an important reason for the difference is that higher class Italians have more reasons to be ambivalent in their commitment to Canada than do comparable Ukrainians, and that this accounts for the differences in the patterns of association of the criticizing index with the independent variables.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are some differences which are distinct though not clearly specifiable between Italians and Ukrainians in factors which are associated with satisfaction with life in Canada. These differences are, we suspect, a result of the fact that since the Italians in the sample have been in Edmonton but a short time and since movement in and out of Italy is easy, they have more reason for indecision in their commitment to Canada than do the Ukrainians who have been here much longer and whose homeland now lies "behind the Iron Curtain." Thus, since Canadian opportunities are more attractive to peasant than to middle class immigrants, our data reflect much stronger social class differences in dissatisfaction with life in Canada for Italians than are found for Ukrainians.

CORRELATES OF UKRAINIAN INTEGRATION INTO CANADIAN SOCIETY

Six variants of integration were analyzed making use of the Italian data: ecological, social, political, economic, religious, and linguistic. Since data for the first and last of these are not available in the Ukrainian study we shall restrict our analysis here to the remaining four.

Social Integration. Three indices of social integration are available: number of close non-Ukrainian friends, membership in associations, and exercise of leadership in associations. The relationships between these indices and the independent variables are summarized in Table VII.

Having non-Ukrainian close friends was significantly associated with sixteen of the twenty independent variables, more than any other dependent variable. It was directly associated with being Canadian born, with level of the man's first job and current job, with intermarriage of self and siblings, with reading English magazines, with frequent viewing of television, and with mentioning newspapers as a source of information. It is inversely associated with age, with chauvinism and alienation scores, with coming from a farming family, with frequent geographical mobility, with reading Ukrainian newspapers and with mentioning people as a source of information. Membership and leadership in associations is associated directly with church attendance, with education, and with level of current job. Membership is also associated directly with level of first job and in a curvilinear fashion with frequency of television viewing. Leadership was associated in a

TABLE VII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SOCIAL
INTEGRATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATION-
SHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Number of Non- Ukrainian Friends	Membership in Associations	Leader- ship in Associations
Index to	+	+	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Demographic			
Sex	0	0	0
Age	-.1%	0	+2%
Canadian Born	+.1%	0	0
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	-1%	0	0
Personality			
Attend Church	0	+2%	+1%
Chauvinism	-1%	0	0
Neuroticism	0	0	0
Alienation	-1%	0	0
Social Status			
Education	+1%	+1%	+1%
Father's Occupation - Non Skilled + Farm	-.1%	0	0
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	+1%	+1%	+1%
Level of 1st Occupation	+1%	+5%	0
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	+1%	0	0
Read Ukrainian Papers	-.1%	0	0
Read English Magazines	+1%	0	0
TV Frequency	+2%	+5%	0
People Information source	-.1%	0	0
Newspaper Source	+5%	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	+1%	0	0
Total Significant Relationships	16	5	4

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

curvilinear fashion with age.

These patterns of findings are quite similar to those for the Italian sample with respect to social integration. There are only a few noteworthy differences. There was a frequent and clear-cut pattern of relationships between association memberships and the independent variables for the Italians but there are only sparse relationships for the Ukrainians. The pattern for the former was clearly the tendency for those who were well accommodated to Canadian society, in terms of living pattern, social class position, association with non-Italians and limited association with Italians, reading of English publications, high participation scores and low personal maladjustment scores, to be members in associations. No such pattern exists for the Ukrainians. Ukrainian association members and leaders are basically the better educated, more middle class, church attending component of the sample. Also, whereas frequency of viewing television was associated with the social integration indices for Ukrainians it was not for the Italian sample.

Political Integration. Three indices of political integration were used in this analysis: the rating of the importance of Dominion politics, whether or not the subject had ever voted for a Ukrainian though he was of a different party than the respondent, and whether the subject thought it was important to have Ukrainian candidates to defend the interests of Ukrainians. No use was made of items dealing with whether or not the respondent had voted in the last Provincial or Federal elections because about seven out of the eight of the sample members had voted. The relationships of these indices with the independent

variables are found summarized in Table VIII.

Ratings of the importance of Dominion politics were significantly associated directly with masculinity, being Canadian born, education, level of the father's occupation and the level of the man's first, and current occupations, with intermarriage of ego, with reading English magazines, with frequent viewing of television, and with mentioning newspapers as a source of information. It is inversely associated with chauvinism and alienation scores and with mentioning people as a source of information.

The remaining two items are both conceived of as indices of political non-integration, and the patterns of the relationships of each with the independent variables are both very similar. Both are directly associated with age, chauvinism and alienation scores, and geographical mobility, and inversely associated with being Canadian born, level of education, level of the father's occupation (one relationship is curvilinear), level of the man's first job, and reading of English magazines. Voting for an opposition party Ukrainian candidate was also inversely associated with level of current occupation and intermarriage of ego, and the feeling that in-group candidates are needed to defend in-group interests and is directly associated with reading Ukrainian newspapers. A careful inspection of the signs of the significant relationships found in Table VIII shows that those for the correlates of importance of Dominion politics are consistently the reverse of those for the other two political integration indices.

In summary, those Ukrainians who are well integrated politically into Canadian society are younger, Canadian born, with low alienation

TABLE VIII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Vote Ukrain- ian Candidate	Defend Interests	Dominion Poli- tics Important
Relationship of index to Criterion Concept	-	-	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Demographic			
Sex	0	0	Male +.1%
Age	+1%	+1%	0
Canadian Born	-1%	-1%	+1%
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	+5%	+5%	0
Personality			
Attend Church	0	0	0
Chauvinism	+1%	+1%	-5%
Neuroticism	0	0	0
Alienation	+5%	+1%	-5%
Social Status			
Education	-.1%	-.1%	+2%
Father's Occupation	-5%	+5%	+5%
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	-5%	0	+5%
Level of 1st Occupation	-.1%	-5%	+1%
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	-1%	0	+5%
Read Ukrainian Papers	0	+2%	0
Read English Magazines	-.1%	-1%	+1%
TV Frequency	0	0	+2%
People Information Source	0	0	-1%
Newspaper Source	0	0	+1%
Siblings Intermarry	0	0	0
Total significant relationships	11	10	13

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = No significant relationship.

and chauvinism tendencies from higher class backgrounds who are employed in higher level positions, and who read English papers, are often intermarried, and depend more on newspapers than on people for information. This agrees perfectly with the description of those Italians who are well integrated politically, except that the latter were not Canadian born. Also, as we have noted earlier, the tendency for frequent television viewing to be directly associated with the criterion is not found in the Italian pattern.

Economic Integration. Only one of the economic integration items used in the Italian study was available in the Ukrainian data, the Protestant Ethic score, which is here conceived of as a measure of work motivation. The data in Table IX show that it is directly associated with church attendance and chauvinism, and physical mobility, inversely associated with being Canadian born, and with intermarriage of siblings, and associated in a curvilinear fashion with alienation scores, level of the father's occupation, and frequent viewing of television.

Although this pattern is not unambiguous, in general it shows that those who are less accommodated to Canadian society--those who are not Canadian born, high on chauvinism, restlessly mobile, from families in which there is little intermarriage, and frequent in attendance at predominantly Orthodox churches--have higher Protestant Ethic scores. By contrast in the Italian study it was those more accommodated to Canadian society--from the North of Italy, low on chauvinism, infrequent in church attendance, with few relatives in Edmonton, but with close non-Italian friends, who read English publications, etc.,--who had high Protestant Ethic scores. Thus, it would appear, within the limits of

TABLE IX

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC
INTEGRATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a
SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Protestant Ethic
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	
Demographic	
Sex	0
Age	0
Canadian born	-5%
Ecological	
Geographical Mobility	+5%
Personality	
Attend Church	+2%
Chauvinism	+2%
Neuroticism	0
Alienation	±5%
Social Status	
Education	0
Father's Occupation	±5%
Social Class	
Level of Current Occupation	0
Level of 1st Occupation	0
Cultural Exposure	
Intermarriage	0
Read Ukrainian papers	0
Read English Magazines	0
TV Frequency	±5%
People Information Source	0
Newspaper Source	0
Siblings Intermarry	-5%
Total Significant Relationships	8

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

the data available, that for Ukrainians, accommodation to Canadian society tends to be associated with lower Protestant Ethic scores, whereas the reverse is true for the Italians.

Religious Integration. There are two indices of religious integration available in the Ukrainian data; whether or not the subject had changed churches and the kind of church of which he is currently a member. Table X shows that changing from the church in which the subject was raised and belonging to a non-Ukrainian church show the same patterns of relationships with the independent variables. Religious integration is directly associated with being Canadian born, education, level of current occupation, intermarriage of ego, and reading English magazines. It is inversely associated with age, with chauvinism and alienation scores, with having a farm family background, and with reading Ukrainian papers; it is associated in a curvilinear fashion with frequency of viewing television. This pattern is essentially the same as that found for the Italian sample, except that it is a more distinct one than the latter. Whereas the Italian data failed to show significant relationships between the demographic and the pre- and post-migration social class variables and the religious integration indices, this was not true of the Ukrainian data where such relationships were found. But the broad outlines of the two sets of patterns are generally the same.

Conclusion. As in the comparison of the two ethnic samples on correlates of adjustment the most obvious conclusion is that the patterns of correlates of integration for the two samples are quite

TABLE X

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND RELIGIOUS
INTEGRATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a
AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Changed Churches	Non-Ukrainian Church
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	+	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Demographic		
Sex	0	0
Age	-2%	-5%
Canadian Born	+2%	+1%
Ecological		
Geographical Mobility	0	0
Personality		
Attend Church	0	-5%
Chauvinism	-1%	-.1%
Neuroticism	+5%	0
Alienation	-5%	-1%
Social Status		
Education	+1%	+5%
Father's occupation Farmer	-1%	Farmer -1%
Social Class		
Level of Current Occupation	+2%	+1%
Level of 1st Occupation	0	0
Cultural Exposure		
Intermarriage	+1%	+1%
Read Ukrainian papers	-5%	-.1%
Read English Magazines	+5%	+1%
TV Frequency	+5%	+5%
People Information Source	0	0
Newspaper Source	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	0	0
Total Significant relationships	12	12

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

similar. However, noteworthy differences do exist with respect to social and economic integration. With respect to social integration the Italian data showed a much stronger pattern of significant relationships between the independent variables and associational memberships than did the Ukrainian data. The reason for this appears to be that for the more newly arrived immigrant group associational membership is unavailable to the mass of immigrants, whereas ^{as} the group as a whole becomes accommodated, associational members become less distinctive. With respect to the Protestant Ethic orientation which was the sole index of economic integration used, the patterns of associations with the independent variables were reversed for the two ethnic samples. Among the Italians it was the more accommodated members of the sample which had higher Protestant Ethic scores, whereas among the Ukrainians it was the less accommodated members who had the higher score. What the reason for this is, is not clear; there are two possibilities. The most likely possibility seems to be that with respect to this orientation, the process of accommodation is a curvilinear one, initially associated with an increase in the Protestant Ethic orientation, but in the advanced stages of accommodation associated with a decrease in this orientation. The movement into the lower middle class, we may suggest, is accomplished by means of a heavy emphasis on Protestant Ethic values. However, movement into the upper middle class is associated with a changed orientation involving more emphasis on leisure consumption and style of life, which is incompatible with the Protestant Ethic orientation. Our data appear to support the contention that the movement of the Italians is largely toward the working class or lower middle class, whereas that of the Ukrainians is more toward the middle class.

Viewing of television is again more often associated with both social and political integration indices for Ukrainians than it is for Italians. Our data reflect no noteworthy differences in the correlates of religious integration between the two ethnic samples.

CORRELATES OF UKRAINIAN ACCULTURATION

The four indices of acculturation which are used in this analysis may be grouped into two categories. Chauvinism scores and attitudes toward establishment of a Ukrainian school deal with retention of Ukrainianisms. Child dominance attitudes and choice of success, independence, or being well liked values are used as indices of general acculturation, with the more acculturated responses being low dominance tendencies and choice of the success over the being well liked value. Since choice of independence as a value was significantly associated with only one independent variable it will not be discussed here.

The Data in Table XI show that both of the indices of retention of Ukrainianisms show frequent and similar relationships with the independent variables. Both are directly associated with age, neuroticism (one relationship is curvilinear), physical mobility (one relationship is curvilinear), and reading Ukrainian newspapers. Both are inversely associated with being Canadian born, with education, with levels of first and current employment, with reading English magazines, with citing the newspaper as a source of information, and with frequency of viewing television. In addition, chauvinism is directly associated with church attendance, inversely associated with intermarriage of ego, and associated in a curvilinear fashion with level of the father's occupation. Favoring

TABLE XI

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND RETENTION OF UKRAINIANISMS INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Chauvinism Scores	Establish Ukrainian Schools
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		+
Demographic		
Sex	0	+1%
Age	+1%	+1%
Canadian Born	-1%	0
Ecological		
Geographical Mobility	±1%	+1%
Personality		
Attend Church	+5%	0
Chauvinism	R	+1%
Neuroticism	±5%	+5%
Alienation	+1%	+1%
Social Status		
Education	-1%	-1%
Father's Occupation	±1%	0
Social Class		
Level of Current Occupation	-2%	-5%
Level of 1st Occupation	-5%	-5%
Cultural Exposure		
Intermarriage	-1%	0
Read Ukrainian Papers	+1%	+1%
Read English Magazines	-1%	-1%
TV Frequency	-1%	-1%
People Information Source	0	+1%
Newspapers Source	-5%	-1%
Siblings Intermarry	0	-5%
Total Significant Relationships	15	15

^a+ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

establishment of a Ukrainian school is associated directly with chauvinism, and mentioning people as a source of information and inversely associated with intermarriage of siblings. As in the case of religious integration, the pattern of relationships with the independent variables described here is a stronger and more distinct version of the relationships between the indices of retention of Italianisms and the independent variables. There are no points of difference in the pattern other than two noted before; two of the Italians are Canadian born, and the Italian data did not show the same pattern of association of the criterion variables with frequency of viewing television.

The data in Table XII show that child dominance, and choice of "being well liked" as a value, and non-choice of the "success" value show similar patterns of association with the independent variables. All are directly associated with age, and chauvinism, and inversely associated with education, with level of father's occupation, and with level of the man's first job. Dominance and choice of "being well liked" are also directly associated with church attendance, and inversely associated with intermarriage of ego. Dominance alone is directly associated with reading the Ukrainian paper and citing people as a source of information, and inversely associated with being Canadian born, level of current occupation, reading English magazines, frequent watching of television, and intermarriage of siblings. Choice of the success value is directly associated and of the "being well liked" value is inversely associated with masculinity and citing newspapers as a source of information, and directly with physical mobility. Choice of "being well liked" is also associated directly with church attendance, neuroticism, and inversely with intermarriage of ego, and associated in a

TABLE XII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ACCULTURATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Child Dominance	Success	Well-Liked
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	-	+	-
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Demographic			
Sex	0	+1%	-1%
Age	+1%	-5%	+5%
Canadian Born	-1%	+5%	0
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	0	-5%	+5%
Personality			
Attend Church	+5%	0	+5%
Chauvinism	+1%	-2%	+2%
Neuroticism	0	0	+5%
Alienation	+1%	0	0
Social Status			
Education	-.1%	+2%	-2%
Father's Occupation	-5%	NonFarm +5%	Farm +5%
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	-.1%	0	0
Level of 1st Occupation	-1%	+2%	-2%
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	-5%	0	-5%
Read Ukrainian Papers	+1%	0	0
Read English Magazines	-.1%	+5%	0
TV Frequency	-5%	0	+5%
People Information Source	+1%	0	0
Newspapers Source	0	+5%	-5%
Siblings Intermarry	-5%	0	0
Total Significant Relationships	15	10	12

^a+ = positive relationship; - = Negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

curvilinear fashion with frequency of viewing television.

In summary, acculturation to the values of equalitarianism rather than patriarchal dominance toward children, and of success rather than relationship values is associated with being young, Canadian born, less frequent in church attendance, non-chauvinistic, low on alienation, from a higher class background, in a higher level job, intermarried and/or having siblings who are intermarried, with reading English newspapers, with not depending on people as a source of information, and with watching television frequently. The comments made above in contrasting non-retention of Ukrainianisms with non-retention of Italianisms are applicable here; the Ukrainian pattern of relationships is almost the same as the Italian, only stronger and more distinct. In the case of the Italians there were no significant relationships between these acculturation items and age, and the post-migration social class variables. Once again, our data suggest that the process of acculturation of Ukrainians is but a more pronounced example of the process characteristic of the Italians.

CORRELATES OF ASSIMILATION OF UKRAINIANS

The five indices of assimilation which are used in this analysis may be grouped into two categories. Three items deal with intermarriage: whether or not the respondent, or his siblings are intermarried, and whether he feels that intermarriage should be discouraged. The other two items which deal with repudiation of Ukrainianism are the rejection of Ukrainianism score (which is virtually identical with the rejection of Italianism score in terms of its component items), and the respondents' attitudes toward name changing.

The following pattern is based on at least two of the three intermarriage indices being significantly associated with the independent variables in the direction indicated, as Table XIII shows. Intermarriage among the Ukrainians in the sample is directly associated with being Canadian born, with education, with level of father's occupation, with the man's current occupational level, with reading English magazines, and with frequency of viewing television. It is inversely associated with age, chauvinism, alienation, physical geographical mobility, and reading Ukrainian newspapers. Wishing to discourage intermarriage is also directly associated with citing people as a source of information and inversely associated with level of the first job and with citing newspapers as a source of information.

Again, this pattern of significant associations between the intermarriage indices and the independent variables is virtually the same as that found in the Italian data. The only noteworthy difference, and one encountered before, is that in the case of the Italian data the sources of information were not significantly associated with discouragement of intermarriage, as they were for the Ukrainian data.

The pattern of associations between rejection of Ukrainianism, and attitudes toward name changing, and the independent variables are found in Table XIV. The significant relationships are far less numerous than they were for the intermarriage indices, and many of them are curvilinear. Rejection of Ukrainianism is directly associated with being Canadian born, with neuroticism, education, current occupational level, and being intermarried, and inversely associated with age. It is associated in a curvilinear fashion with alienation, father's occupation

TABLE XIII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ASSIMILATION INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Intermarried	Siblings Intermarried	Discourage Intermarriage
	+	+	-
Demographic			
Sex	+1%	0	0
Age	-1%	-1%	+1%
Canadian Born	+1%	+1%	-1%
Ecological			
Geographical Mobility	-5%	-5%	+1%
Personality			
Attend Church	0	0	0
Chauvinism	-1%	-1%	+1%
Neuroticism	±5%	0	0
Alienation	-1%	0	+1%
Social Status			
Education	+1%	+5%	-1%
Father's Occupation	±1%	+5%	-1%
Social Class			
Level of Current Occupation	+5%	+5%	-1%
Level of 1st Occupation	0	0	-1%
Cultural Exposure			
Intermarriage	R	+5%	-1%
Read Ukrainian Papers	-1%	-1%	+1%
Read English Magazines	+1%	+1%	-1%
TV Frequency	+5%	0	-5%
People Information Source	0	0	+1%
Newspaper Source	0	0	-5%
Siblings Intermarry	+5%	R	-5%
Total Significant Relationships	14	10	16

^a + = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

TABLE XIV

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND REJECTION
OF UKRAINIANISM INDICES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATION-
SHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Reject Ukrainianism	Change Name
Relationship of Index to Criterion Concept	+	+
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Demographic		
Sex	0	0
Age	-5%	0
Canadian Born	+2%	0
Ecological		
Geographical Mobility	±5%	±1%
Personality		
Attend Church	0	-5%
Chauvinism	0	-1%
Neuroticism	+5%	0
Alienation	±5%	0
Social Status		
Education	+2%	+5%
Father's Occupation	±2%	0
Social Class		
Level of Current Occupation	±5%	±1%
Level of 1st Occupation	+5%	0
Cultural Exposure		
Intermarriage	+5%	0
Read Ukrainian Papers	0	-2%
Read English Magazines	0	0
TV Frequency	0	0
People Information Source	0	0
Newspaper Source	0	0
Siblings Intermarry	0	0
Total Significant Relationships	10	6

^a + = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.

and physical mobility. Favorability toward name changing is directly associated with education and being intermarried, and inversely associated with church attendance, chauvinism, and reading Ukrainian newspapers. It is associated in a curvilinear fashion with physical mobility. Again, we find that this pattern of associations is very similar to that found for the Italian data, with the exception of the fact that whereas reading English newspapers and frequency of viewing television were significantly associated with the two criterion indices for Italians, they were not so for Ukrainians. Why this should be so is not known; perhaps these patterns have become so general among Ukrainians that they no longer have any distinct acculturational significance among them.

It seems clear within the limits of the data which we have analyzed here that there are no significant differences in the processes of assimilation of Italians and Ukrainians in Edmonton at this time. That the processes might be similar was, perhaps, predictable from the similarities in the peasant backgrounds of the two groups.

THE CUMULATIVE PATTERN: THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

A more global indication of the similarity in the processes of accommodation to Canadian society of Italians and Ukrainians involves comparing the number of significant associations of the independent variables with the accommodation indices, for the two ethnic groups. In Table XV is found a listing of the independent variables which are common to the two studies and rankings of these variables in terms of the frequency with which they were significantly associated with the dependent variables for the Italian and the Ukrainian data. These two

TABLE XV

NUMBER AND RANKINGS OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SOME OF THE ACCOMMODATION INDICES, FOR THE ITALIAN AND THE UKRAINIAN SAMPLES, WITH RANK DIFFERENCES.

Independent Variables	Italian		(Urban)Ukrainian		Rank Difference
	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	
Sex	10	10.5	5	15	4.5
Age	12	9	15	6	3.0
Church Attendance	4	13.5	9	12.5	1.0
Chauvinism	14	7	14	9	2.0
Neuroticism	14	7	8	14	7.0
Alienation	10	10.5	15	6	4.5
Education	20	1	20	1	0.0
Father's Occupation	15	4.5	17	2	2.5
Level of Current Occupation	16	3	15	6	3.0
Level of 1st Occupation	9	12	16	3	9.0
Intermarriage	14	7	12	10.5	3.5
Read Native Lang. Papers	15	4.5	12	10.5	6.0
Read English Magazines	18	2	15	6	4.0
TV Frequency	4	13.5	15	6	7.5
People Information Source	2	15	9	12.5	2.5
Total	177		197		

rankings are generally quite similar. The seven most frequently related independent variables for the Italian data are, in decreasing order: education, reading of English publications, level of current occupation, the father's occupation, reading Italian newspapers, chauvinism, neuroticism, intermarriage, age, sex, and alienation. The comparable group for the Ukrainian data are: education, father's occupation, level of first job, reading English publications, level of current occupation, age, alienation, frequency of viewing television, chauvinism, intermarriage, and intermarriage. With both samples, education, father's occupation, level of current occupation and reading English publications are high ranking variables. With both people as a source of information and frequency of church attendance are low ranking independent variables. The level of the first job held, frequency of viewing television, and alienation were more frequently associated with the criterion indices for the Ukrainian than the Italian data. Neuroticism, reading native language newspapers, and sex, were more frequently associated with the criterion indices for the Italian than the Ukrainian data.

The similarities in the two sets of rankings reflect the common elements in the processes of accommodation which both groups are undergoing. Thus, education, the social class level of the family of orientation, the current occupational position of the respondent (or her husband) and reading of English publications would clearly be significant irrespective of ethnicity. The differences in the two sets of rankings appear to reflect the greater advancement of the Ukrainians in the accommodation process which is a result of their longer residence in Canada. Thus, Ukrainians are in a better position to learn more

from watching television than Italians, and a sense of alienation is less general and so more "serious" among them. The level of the first job held in Canada is less frequently associated with the criterion indices for the Italians than the Ukrainians because with the former it is more likely to be accidentally determined and not reflective of the training and ability of the person, than with the latter. Reading nativelanguage papers is probably a more significant variable with a recent than an earlier immigrant group. The greater significance of sex among the Italians is probably reflective of the differences in conceptions of sex role patterning between them and the Ukrainians, which may also reflect the earlier arrival in Canada of the former. The greater significance of neuroticism for Italians, probably also reflects the existence of fear and anxiety characteristic of new immigrants as they attempt to adjust to a dimly understood society.

THE CUMULATIVE PATTERN: THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

In Table XVI is found a listing of the dependent variables which are common to the Italian and Ukrainian studies, grouped by areas of accommodation, and rankings of these variables in terms of the frequency with which they were significantly associated with the independent variables for the two sets of data. We shall compare the Italian and the Ukrainian data with respect to the accommodation areas and with respect to items.

The data in the table shows that the areas most often associated with the independent variables for the Ukrainian data are, in decreasing order: economic and personal adjustment, acculturation,

TABLE XVI

NUMBER AND RANKINGS OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED DEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SOME OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, FOR THE ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES, WITH RANK DIFFERENCES

Dependent Variables	Italian		Ukrainian		Rank Difference for Items		Rank Difference For Areas
	No.	Rank	No.	Rank			
ADJUSTMENT							
Economic		3			1		2
Hollins, Occupation	7	17	11	11.5b	5.5	U	
Income	10	5.5	13	3	2.5	U	
Husband Mobility	10	5.5	13	3	2.5	U	
Personal		9			2		7
Anomie	6	20.5	13	3	17.5	U	
Alienation	6	20.5	13	3	17.5	U	
Neuroticism	6	20.5	7	18.5	2	U	
Satisfaction		4			9		5
Discrimination	9	10	1	25	15	I	
Bad Things	8	14	4	24	10	I	
Social		5			7		2
Invited Out	11	2.5	9	15	12.5	I	
No. Close Friends	5	23	7	18.5	4.5	U	
INTEGRATION							
Political		1			4		3
Dominion Politics Imp.	14	1	11	11.5	10.5	I	
Social		2			5		3
Non-Uk. Friends	11	2.5	12	7.5	5	I	
Association Member	9	10	5	22	12	I	
Economic		8			8		0
Protestant Ethic	7	17	5	22	5	I	
ASSIMILATION							
Discourage Intermarr.	7	17	12	7.5	9.5	U	
Siblings Intermarry	10	5.5	8	16	10.5	I	
Ego Intermarry	6	20.5	11	11.5	9	U	
Change Church	8	14	11	11.5	2.5	U	
Change Name	8	14	5	22	8	I	
Reject Ukrainianism	9	10	7	18.5	8.5	I	
ACCULTURATION							
Child Dominance	9	10	12	8.5	2.5	U	
Chauvinism	9	10	12	7.5	2.5	U	
Values-Success	2	24	7	18.5	5.5	U	
Values--Well Liked	0	25	10	14	11	U	
Estabish Uk, School	10	5.5	13	3	2.5	U	
Total	197		232				

political integration, social integration, assimilation, (7) social adjustment, (8) economic integration, and (9) satisfaction. The same ranking, for the Italian data, is: (1) political integration, (2) social integration, (3) economic adjustment, (4) satisfaction, (5) social adjustment, (6) assimilation, (7) acculturation, (8) economic integration, and (9) personal adjustment. The biggest discrepancies in these two rankings are: personal adjustment, which is frequently associated with the independent variables for the Ukrainian data but not for the Italian data; satisfaction, which is more frequently associated with the independent variables for Italians than for Ukrainians; and acculturation, which is more frequently associated for Ukrainians than Italians. Since there are no reasons to believe that there are differences in the Ukrainian and Italian cultures which produce these differences, it appears that the differences may have origins in generational differences, since a majority of the Ukrainians were born in Canada while only two of the Italians were. Accordingly, it appears that the personal adjustment and acculturation indices of second generation immigrants are more often associated with the independent indices used in this study than they are for first generation immigrants. This is reversed in the case of satisfaction indices however, which are more often associated with independent variables for the first than the second generation. The reasons for this are clear enough. It is the first generation which has more basis for satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the adoptive country than the second generation since only the first has had first hand experience with the old country as a basis for comparison. On the other hand, it is perhaps

to be expected that the second generation, caught between the old country ways of parents and the Canadian ways of peers would show a greater range of personal adjustment scores, and thus would show more significant associations with the independent variables. Similarly, a greater range of variation in acculturation is to be found among second generation immigrants than among first generation immigrants, and so acculturation should show more significant associations with the dependent variables for the Ukrainians.

An examination of the item rank differences between the Italian and the Ukrainian data gives added support to this general picture. Anomie, alienation, discouragement of intermarriage, intermarriage of self, and choice of the value "being well liked" were more frequently associated with the independent variables by nine or more rank places for Ukrainians rather than for Italians. Experiencing discrimination, dissatisfaction with frequency of being invited out, membership in associations, rated importance of Dominion politics, intermarriage of siblings, and criticisms of Canada, were more frequently associated with the independent variables by nine or more rank places for Italians than Ukrainians. In addition to the differences in personal adjustment and satisfaction noted above it is clear that certain social and political integration and social adjustment items are more often associated with the independent variables for Italians than Ukrainians. These items also appear to deal with issues which are more pressing or relevant to first than to second generation immigrants; experience of discrimination, satisfaction with friendships, memberships in associations in the new country. The more frequent association of two of the intermarriage items with the independent variables for the Ukrainian than the Italian data is probably caused by the fact that ethnic loyalty is a more pressing issue in the Ukrainian community than in the Italian community,

resulting from the centuries old longing of Ukrainians for political independence.

Summary. We have seen that the frequency of significant association of the independent variables with the criterion variables is similar for the Italian and the Ukrainian data. Education, social class level, of family of orientation, current occupational level of breadwinner, and reading of English publications are frequently associated with the criterion variables for both. Some independent variables rank differently for the two samples in frequency of associations because they appear to be affected by recency of arrival and/or by generational differences of immigrant respondents. Frequency of viewing television, reading of native language papers, level of the first job in Canada, and the personality adjustment measures are examples of this. The number of significant associations of sex appears to be influenced by the culturally defined sex role pattern.

The frequency of significant association of the accommodation indices with the independent variables shows more differences between the Italian and the Ukrainian samples. When the variables are grouped by areas and ranked according to their frequency of association with the independent variables, the rank differences are two or less for economic and social adjustment, economic and social integration, and assimilation. However, the rank differences are seven (out of a possible eight) for personal adjustment, five for satisfaction and four for acculturation. These differences in ranking appear to be explained by the hypothesis that satisfaction is an issue for recent immigrants, hence an area with more frequent significant associations with the

independent variables for Italians, and acculturation and personal adjustment are issues for longer duration, earlier and second generation immigrants and so these are areas with more associations with the independent variables for the Ukrainians.

SUMMARY

We may now summarize the results of this detailed comparison of the Italian and the Ukrainian samples in terms of the correlates of adjustment, satisfaction, integration, acculturation, and assimilation. In general, the patterns of significant relationships between the independent variables and the indices of accommodation for the two ethnic samples were very similar, except that the patterns of relationships for the Ukrainian data were usually stronger and more distinct. However, there were a number of differences between the two groups.

1. Reading ethnic language newspapers is more often inversely associated with accommodation indices, and frequency of viewing television is more often directly associated with accommodation indices for the Ukrainian sample than the Italian sample. The reason appears to be that because of the greater English facility of the Ukrainians television is more often a source of accommodative information and influence for them than it is of diversion as it seems to be for Italians. For the same reason, continued reading of the Ukrainian press is perhaps more reflective of maladaptive preoccupation with Ukrainianism, than is the reading of Italian papers by Italians.

2. The findings with respect to personal adjustment suggest that among second generation Ukrainians there is found basic conflict

over ethnic identity which is not found among members of the Italian sample since it was composed of first generation immigrants.

3. Dissatisfaction with Canada was distinctively characteristic of higher class Italians but not of comparable Ukrainians. The reason appears to be that Canadian opportunities are less attractive to middle class than to peasant immigrants, and Italian middle class subjects need feel less committed to Canada than their Ukrainian counterparts since they have been here for a shorter period of time and since return to the mother land is easier and more attractive for the Italians.

4. Associational membership was more frequently related to many of the independent variables for the Italian than for the Ukrainian samples, probably because among the former such memberships are less widely available and so are characteristic of a more select, distinctive group than among the Ukrainians.

5. Among the Italians, higher Protestant Ethic scores are characteristic of the more accommodated sample members whereas this relationship is reversed in the Ukrainian sample. This is perhaps caused by Italian striving for lower middle class status, characterized by a Protestant Ethic orientation, whereas more Ukrainians in the sample are striving for upper middle class status, which is characterized by muting of the Protestant Ethic emphasis.

This pattern of findings appears both in the individual area analyses and the cumulative area analyses. The major basis for explaining these differences between the two samples appears to be duration of Canadian residence: the Ukrainians came to this part of Canada in large numbers perhaps fifty years before the Italians did so. The differences

in personal adjustment, satisfaction, associational memberships and correlates of the Protestant Ethic scores appear to be an important result of this fact.

The same principle appears to explain differences in the frequencies of association of the independent variables with the dependent variables for the two samples. The higher ranking of television and the lower ranking of reading the native language press for Ukrainians than Italians is related to the differences in English facility between them which are a result of differences in Canadian residence. Differences in rankings of alienation and neuroticism (high for Ukrainians) and level of first Canadian job (low for Ukrainians) appear to result from differences in duration of residence as well. Only in the case of sex (higher ranking for Italians) does the explanation for the ranking differential possibly lie in differences in the two mother cultures, and even here the reason may be that Ukrainians have been exposed longer to the egalitarian Canadian culture than the Italians.

CHAPTER XIV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have now finished presenting all of the new information which is available from this study. It remains for us to briefly review the way in which the study was carried out, to summarize the pattern of the findings which have emerged, and to discuss the conclusions toward which these findings appear to point.

THE STUDY

This study has presented data on the accommodation of Italians in Edmonton to Canadian society, on some of the variables associated with differential accommodation, and has drawn a comparison between the results of this study and the results of a closely similar study of the accommodation of Ukrainians in Edmonton. The data for this report were drawn from a variety of sources; interviews with a sample of Italian immigrants in Edmonton, interviews with functionaries and leaders of the Italian community in Edmonton, interviews with police, welfare, school, and mental health officials in Edmonton, Census materials, both published and unpublished, interviews with a sample of people of Ukrainian background living in Edmonton, and the files of the Edmonton Police, the Edmonton Family Service Association and the Catholic Family and Child Service.

The sample of Italians who were interviewed consisted of 416 Italian born and two Canadian born men and women. They were interviewed by Italian speaking interviewers using a schedule consisting

of 209 items. The interviews took between one, and one-half hours and three or more hours to complete. An official Italian translation of the schedule was used but it was frequently necessary to depart from this translation because of the variety of dialects spoken by the respondents. Rapport with the respondents was generally quite good and the refusal rate was only 3.8 per cent. of those contacted.

The sample interviewed was drawn from two lists: one was a list of Italian names taken from the Voter Enumeration list for the city of Edmonton which was compiled during April, 1962. The other was a file of all Italians who had been naturalized between 1958 and February, 1965.

A comparison of some of the data from the interview sample with some of the data from the special census runs afforded a basis for evaluating the representativeness of the sample which was drawn. Such a procedure is not entirely appropriate since the populations on which the Census tables are based and the population from which we samples are not entirely comparable. These comparisons do suggest that the sample on which this study is based is probably overrepresentative of lower class Italians and underrepresentative of Italians employed in white collar occupations. However, the census data also show that such a small proportion of the foreign born Italians in the city are in the latter category that there is little basis for concern about the representativeness of the sample.

THE PLAN OF THE ANALYSIS

The data which were collected were used descriptively and analytically. The purpose of the descriptive sections of this report was to paint a picture of the situation, and the way of life, of members of the

Italian community in Edmonton. In this connection we included material on the history and the present circumstances of the Italian community in Edmonton and the background of the Italians who live there. Comparisons of this group were made with Ukrainian, German, and British foreign born and ethnic origins groups in order to obtain a comparative understanding of the situation of the Italians. These comparisons show that in many ways the pre-war Italian immigrants made more rapid progress in accommodating to Canada than did any of the other three ethnic groups. However, of the post-war immigrants, the Italians have the lowest level occupational positions and highest proportion who do not speak English.

Material on the family, child bearing and child rearing, friendship, associational membership, religious and political participation, leisure time activity, and personality patterns of the sample members were also presented. The mass media exposure of the sample members was described and the indications of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with life in Canada were discussed. Such evidence as could be discovered concerning disturbed and illegal deviant behavior among Italians in Edmonton was presented.

The analytic sections of the report were based on interrelating pre- and post-migration independent or "causal" variables with criterion or "effect" variables. Since some variables could not justifiably be identified only as independent or criterion variables they were treated as both at certain stages of the analysis. The criterion variables were further divided into the following categories: Adjustment, including Economic, Social and Personal Integration; Satisfaction with living in Canada;

Integration, including Ecological, Social, Political, Economic, Religious, and Linguistic.

Acculturation and value change.

Assimilation and repudiation of Ukrainianism.

Discussion of the statistically significant interrelationships for the total sample between the independent variables and those different areas of accommodation constituted the first of four analyses. The second involved a replication of the first but using the data for men and for women, separately, in order to discover what differences in the processes of accommodation of men and women the data might reveal.

The third was a more restricted and more sophisticated analysis. It involved factor analyzing the personality measures and several accommodation indices, and then by means of a multiple regression analysis, discovering the predictive significance of the factored personality measures and several other independent variables for the factored accommodation indices.

The fourth was a comparison of the results of the Italian study with similar data from another ethnic group which had lived in Alberta for forty or fifty years longer than the Italians. The group was Ukrainian, which is similar to the majority of the members of the Italian sample in that both come from a peasant cultural background and both were raised in most cases in farming families. The purpose of the comparison was to discover in what respects the process of accommodation to Canadian society was similar for the two groups and in what respects it was different because of differences in the mother culture and/or differences in duration of residence in Canada.

THE FINDINGS

Descriptive Aspects. It is not possible comprehensively and concisely to summarize the results of the descriptive sections of this report. The following generalizations may be made, however, which are, of course, subject to the limitations of the sample which was interviewed.

The majority of Italians in Edmonton come from a peasant background in Southern Italy, and have lived in Edmonton a relatively short time, most of them less than nine years in 1965. They have a very limited educational background. Their work experience in Italy was primarily in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, and they are employed at the same levels in this country. They are in many ways cut off from very extensive contact with Canadian society. Many of them live in the area of dense Italian residence which we have called the Italian community, and most of them do not have non-Italian friends. Most of them read no English publications, and do not belong to associations, either Italian or Canadian. Viewing of television is almost universal, but the merely diversionary significance of this is seen in the fact that over 40 per cent could not name any television programs. Men are better accommodated to Canadian society than women; they more often speak English, read English newspapers, and have non-Italian friends.

Italian families in Edmonton tend to be rather large, though not nearly as large as the subject's families of orientation, and rather patriarchal. There are many evidences of familism; the frequent sharing of residences with relatives, the popularity of visiting as a leisure time activity, the extent to which aid is given in helping other

family members to come to Canada. The sample members are virtually all Roman Catholic and religious involvement and church attendance tend to be high by Canadian standards. Political involvement is very low, except in the case of those who are naturalized, who of course, are the only ones with the vote.

There is little that can be said about distinctive personality characteristics of sample members. Protestant Ethic scores tend to be high. Anomie scores are about comparable with those found for samples of North American subjects. No generalizations can be made about alienation and neuroticism scores, since comparable scores are not available for North American samples. However, it can be said that the Italian sample did not score higher on these measures than the Ukrainian sample for which these scores are also available. Child dominance scores tend to be rather high.

Although there was a minority of respondents who indicated that they regretted having come to Canada and a small group who planned to return to Italy, the overwhelming majority of the sample reported satisfaction with their situation in this country. The advantages of living in this country which were most often cited were the freedoms and opportunities which were to be enjoyed here. However, there were frequent expressions of specific dissatisfactions as well. The Sunday closing "blue laws" of Alberta were most frequently mentioned sources of dissatisfaction, followed by the weather, language problems, and people's behavior, especially that of women and children.

In contrast to the majority of relatively uneducated, Southern Italians stemming from peasant origins to which the generalizations

which we have just finished making are most frequently applicable it should be noted that there is a smaller group of Northern Italians, Many, though certainly not all, are better educated, more sophisticated, holding higher level work positions and having attitudes and involvements more similar to those of many Canadians than their Southern compatriots. Their better schooling has given them a better command of English, which permits them to make non-Italian friends more easily, to read English publications, to participate more widely in Canadian activities, and to become naturalized sooner after their arrival than those whose language and orientation keep them more in a kind of self-contrived Italian ghetto.

Information was collected on deviancy among Italians as indicated in disturbed behavior and problems of personal or social adjustment, and in illegal behavior, through interviews with relevant officials and studies of cases on record files. The general finding was that the incidence of both kinds of deviancy is lower in the Italian community than it is in the Edmonton populace as a whole. No indications were discovered that Italians are more prone to problems of mental or emotional deviancy than other members of the populace. The Director of the Guidance Clinic did indicate that Italian children who cannot speak English are occasionally referred by first or second grade teachers for mental testing, and occasionally the communication problems of such children result in mild emotional symptoms. But he indicated that these problems are in all respects similar to those which other immigrant children in the same circumstances experience.

It was not possible to search the files of mental hospital and

Guidance Clinic but it was possible to do so for the Family Service Association and the Catholic Family and Child Service files. The result of this effort was a clear indication that the incidence of use of these services was drastically lower for the Italian origins populace than for the total population of Edmonton. The most frequent problems which caused Italians to seek the aid of these family service organizations were problems involving parent-child conflicts. The incidence of these problems was unusually high as compared with the control group. The incidence of marital adjustment problems was low, however, as compared with the control group. Interviews with Edmonton police officials indicate that Italians in Edmonton are seen by the police as orderly and law abiding. There is no evidence that they subscribe to the stereotype of the criminalistic Italian, or subject the Italian areas of the city to close surveillance. The police perception is an accurate one; a comparative study of arrests of Italians and of a control group of non-Italians demonstrated that the incidence of arrests of Italians is much lower than for the total Edmonton populace. However, the proportion of arrests for serious offences is higher for Italians than it is for the rest of the population of arrests, and accordingly, the sentences pronounced on Italians tend to be more severe than those pronounced on the non-Italians.

The Gross Analysis. We do not have the space, nor is there need to review the interrelationships between the independent variables and the various accommodation areas which were described and interpreted in Chapters V through VIII. A rather clear pattern of findings emerged

which in most cases was consistent across the lines of the separate areas of accommodation. This pattern is perhaps most conveniently summarized in terms of ideal types, as follows.

The Italians who show the best accommodation to Canadian society tend to be the minority of well educated Italians from higher class backgrounds who more frequently come from the Northern and urban areas of Italy. They most frequently make a good economic adjustment in terms of steady employment, level of employment and size of income. They have distinctively lower anomie, alienation, and neuroticism scores. They are able most quickly to move out to the non-Italian areas of the city. They acquire non-Italian friends, attend both Italian and non-Italian social functions, belong to both Italian and non-Italian associations. They are more interested in local and national politics, become naturalized more quickly, and so are sooner in a position to take an active part in politics. One result is that they are more often critical of both the Provincial and the Federal incumbent administrations. They are less interested in patronizing Italian stores, and more frequently have joined a non-Italian church. They more frequently speak English to their wives (or husbands) and children, and are less interested in the establishment of an Italian separate school for their children. They read more English publications.

In terms of attitudes and value orientations, they hope for smaller families, are more permissive in their attitudes toward child rearing, and have higher but nevertheless more realistic aspirations for their children. They have lower chauvinism scores and higher Protestant Ethic scores. They are more often emancipated from the

relationship, religious, and personal reputation values which are characteristic of the unacculturated, and more closely identified with the success, materialistic, and individualistic values characteristic of North American society.

In terms of assimilationist tendencies, they are more often in favor of intermarriage and more often intermarried themselves and/or from families in which siblings are intermarried. They have more often changed churches. They are more favorable toward changing names and more rejecting of Italianisms, and also of other Italians, who cause them embarrassment.

In two respects only do the better educated sample members who come from higher class backgrounds and usually from Northern and/or urban parts of Italy appear to be less accommodated to Canadian society than their opposites, subjects from lower class, peasant, Southern Italian backgrounds. The latter report more close friends and they report more satisfaction with life in Canada than do the former. However, it should also be noted that the Southern Italians also report more of social dissatisfaction than the higher class Northerners. Accordingly, it appears that there is no basis for feeling that the latter are less well socially adjusted than the Southerners. Rather, two patterns are reflected here: the Southern, rural, peasant origins group is more used to having many friends, in fact, to being acquainted with most of the people they daily encounter. The Northern, urban origins Italians are more accustomed to having a smaller circle of friends and to living much of the time in the presence of strangers. The result is that although the Southerners report having more close friends than the

Northerners they also report more dissatisfaction with their social life because they are accustomed to more exclusively primary relationships. Thus, it appears that the Northerners are better socially adjusted in Edmonton, despite the fact that they report fewer friendships.

This kind of explanation does not appear to apply in the case of the differences in expressed dissatisfaction with life in Canada between the higher class Northerners and the peasant origins Southerners in the sample. There appears to be no doubt that the latter are better satisfied. The explanation of the paradox that the better accommodated and more prosperous Italians are the more dissatisfied is found in the concept of relative deprivation. This points to the fact that the Southerners are relatively better off, in terms of the facilities, incomes, and opportunities available to them and to their children here in Canada, in contrast to their situations in the old country, than are the better class Northerners. The latter group had a greater variety of opportunities open to them, had the training to take advantage of these opportunities, and could foresee opportunities for their children in Italy. They inevitably become somewhat declassé following their move to this country and became immigrants, foreigners, perhaps to some extent, "Wops." The result is that they have more reason to reconsider their move, to think longingly of the opportunities which they forfeited and to resent the frustrations they incurred by their move to Canada. They are more critical of Canadian life and less appreciative of its advantages. The result is that they more often regret having made the move, more often think about the possibility of returning to Italy, and more often plan to return.

The Independent Variables. The independent variable which was more frequently associated with the indices of accommodation than any other was the education of the respondent, which was associated with 69 out of 88 indices. This was followed by reading English publications, having close non-Italian friends, the participation score, the chauvinism score, duration of residence in Canada, age, region of Italian origins, intermarriage of self or siblings, level of the last Italian occupation, having relatives in Edmonton, alienation, naturalization, and the level of current occupation which was associated with 49 of the indices of accommodation. At the other extreme, the independent variables least frequently associated with the indices of accommodation were frequency of viewing television and mentioning the radio as an important source of information, which were each significantly associated with 14 of the indices. These were followed by frequency of church attendance, mentioning the school, people, and the church, as important sources of information, reading Italian newspapers, rural-urban origins, the level of the first Canadian job, occupational mobility compared with the father, and compared with the last Italian job, and number of sources of information, which was associated with 37 of the accommodation indices.

The classes of independent variables are ranked by mean frequency with which their component items are associated with the criterion variables as follows: (1) participation--a single item, (2) the cultural exposure indices, exclusive of sources of information, (3) interpersonal relationships. (4) pre-migration social class indices, (5) personality variables, (6) post-migration ecological variable, (7) naturalization--a single item, (8) pre-migration ecological variables, (9) post-migration

social class indices, (10) demographic variables, (11) number of sources of information.

It is clear from these rankings that education, including the acquisition of English facility, close association with non-Italians, low chauvinism and lengthy residence in Canada are the variables most closely associated with successful accommodation to Canadian society when accommodation is indexed as it was in this study. At the other extreme, exposure to radio and television, church attendance, sources of information on which subjects depended, rural-urban origins, and reading of Italian newspapers, are clearly only slightly related to the accommodation processes. This pattern tends generally to hold true for all of the accommodation areas with the exception of satisfaction with life in Canada. In general, satisfaction was related to the same independent variables as were the other accommodation areas, but the satisfaction indices were usually related inversely where the others were related directly to the independent variables.

Sex Differences. The differences between male and female subjects which are found in the patterns of significant relationships between the independent variables and the indices of various areas of accommodation tend usually to involve a strengthening of the gross pattern just described for men, and a weakening of it for women. Whereas for men good economic adjustment was associated with the weakening of Italian influences and the strengthening of Canadian influences, this was not so clearly true for women. Furthermore, for the latter only, there was some association of indications of personal maladjustment with good economic adjustment. For women only there is some association of indices of

higher social standing and of Canadianization with personal maladjustment which suggests that some problems of alienation may be peculiar to female immigrants.

The strongest sex differences are found related to the pattern of relationships of independent variables with the satisfaction indices. Satisfaction in men is associated with indicators of a peasant background and minimum Canadianization. For women, however, it is those who are more emancipated from old country relationships and values, and are more involved in Canadian society who are more satisfied. The pattern of sex differences relative to social integration with Italians is very similar. For men, it is inversely related to indicators of Canadianization and of upward mobility, whereas for women it tends to be directly associated with these indicators. Social integration with non-Italians is associated with decreased interaction with Italian relatives, and to a lesser extent, friends^{for men}, whereas no such curtailment of Italian relationships is found for women. The reason for this may be that it is usually Italian men who lead the way into the non-Italian social world, and that when the man leads the woman may follow without needing to diminish her Italian relationships.

Political integration for women is associated only with a broader range of involvements, whereas for men it is associated with upward mobility, loss of Italian relationships, and increased Canadian relationships. Italian men appeared to define patronage of Italian stores as a loyalty issue, thus, for them it is associated with indications of chauvinism and of more narrowly Italian contacts. The ethnicity of the store tended to be more often a matter of indifference to the women.

Membership in non-Italian churches is associated for men with a higher class Italian background, with a variety of Canadian contacts and with loss of Italian involvements. For women it is associated with few independent variables, perhaps because it is the men who decide which church the family will attend. English fluency in men is associated with curtailment of Italian relationships and with upward mobility. For women it is associated with upper class Italian background and with non-Italian friendships, but without loss of Italian relationships.

Low levels of chauvinism are, for both men and women, associated with higher class Italian background. For men it is also associated with indications of upward mobility and for women with loss of Italian relationships and with having Canadian contacts; for neither is the higher class background alone sufficient.

Changes in value identifications toward the more characteristically Canadian pattern were associated with higher educational attainment, reading of English publications and low chauvinism for both men and women. For men only it was also associated with indications of a decline in patriarchalism.

The data suggest that assimilative tendencies in men are associated with achievements; with upward mobility and restricted relationships with relatives. For women however it appears that assimilation is associated with a higher class background which prepares her in terms of education and English facility to develop Canadian relationships without need to cut off her Italian relationships.

The differences may be summarized in the following generalizations:

Whereas for men emancipation from the peasant pattern is associated

with economic and personal adjustment, but with less adequate social adjustment and with more dissatisfaction with life in Canada; for women emancipation from the peasant pattern is associated with personal adjustment and with social adjustment and with increased satisfaction as well.

For men, indications of increased accommodation to Canadian society are usually associated with breaking off relationships with relatives and with less dependence on the church, whereas for women, increased accommodation is usually associated with expanding Canadian contacts, but also, often with increased relationships with other Italians, and without curtailment of church involvement.

For men, increased accommodation to Canadian society in many areas is usually associated with achievement, especially in the occupational area. For women, however, signs of accommodation were more characteristically associated with a higher class Italian background which prepared them, especially perhaps in terms of language facility and self confidence, for more extensive involvement in Canadian society.

The Multi-Variate Analysis. All of the analyses done thus far were based on chi-square analysis of cross tabulation distributions, therefore no indication of the strength or the relative importance of the relationships has been available. In order to obtain an indication of the components of some of the independent variables, and of the relative strength of their relationships with the criterion variables, two factor analyses and one multi-variate analysis were performed on some of the data available in this study. One of the factor analyses was performed on four personality variables, the alienation, anomie,

dogmatism, neuroticism and extroversion scores. The other was a factor analysis of five accommodation indices: the rejection of Italianisms, chauvinism, participation and satisfaction scores, and the mobility index based on comparing the subject's first Canadian position with his current work position.

The results of the first factor analysis demonstrated the existence of two major factors, the Adjustment Factor and the Extroversion Factor. The former was the predominant factor in the alienation, anomie, dogmatism, and neuroticism scores, and the latter was predominant in the extroversion score. The factor analysis of the accommodation indices again showed the existence of two factors which met eigen value criteria. The first, which we termed the Involvement Factor, contributed most heavily to the rejection (negative), chauvinism, and involvement scores. The second, which we termed the Satisfaction Factor, contributed most heavily to the satisfaction and mobility scores.

The multiple regression analyses made use of both the factored and the unfactored independent and dependent variables. Only the results of the analyses making use of the factored variables will be included in this final summary.

The independent variables which were analyzed included age, sex, area of Italian origin, duration of residence in Canada, closeness of Italian primary relationships, and the personality variables. Unfortunately, the design for the multiple regression analyses was completed before the chi-square analyses were completed, thus some variables were excluded, notably education, reading of English publications, and close non-Italian friendships. These would certainly have been included had

the results of the chi-square analysis been available to guide the formulation of this design. As it was, the two variables which the chi-square analysis showed were more frequently associated with the dependent variables than any other were not included in this multi-variate analysis.

The results of the multi-variate analysis can be summarized briefly. Since the most important independent variables were excluded from the analysis, the proportions of the variance in the accommodation factors which was "explained" by the independent variables were very low, .156 for the Involvement Factor and .106 for the Satisfaction Factor. The proportions of the variance which were explained by the independent variables for the unfactored dependent variables were considerably higher-- .148 for chauvinism, .079 for mobility, .314 for Involvement, .141 for Satisfaction, and .092 for Rejection of Italianisms. All of the independent variables were not significantly independently correlated with the dependent variables. Chauvinism was significantly independently correlated only with duration of Canadian residence. Satisfaction was similarly correlated only with age and region of Italian origins. Mobility was correlated in this way only with age and anomie scores and rejection of Italianisms was independently correlated only with neuroticism. Participation was significantly independently correlated with region of Italian origins, age, duration of Canadian residence, and the personality adjustment factor. The Satisfaction and Involvement Factors were significantly independently correlated with the same independent variables as the unfactored satisfaction and participation scores.

Although a number of the most important independent variables were omitted from this analysis, a number of relevant findings did emerge which supplement those described earlier in sections of this report. Rejection of Italianism is independently related only to neuroticism scores of the independent variables which were considered here; this is in accord with our findings on the relationship between these two scores in the Ukrainian data. Chauvinism is related only to duration of residence. Mobility is independently related only to youth and low anomie scores. Satisfaction is related to elderliness and Southern Italian origins. All of these findings support interpretations which were made on less dependable grounds in the preceding pages. Involvement is independently associated with a wide range of independent subject characteristics--Northern origins, youthfulness, lengthy residence in Canada, and personal adjustment--and these findings also support the foregoing discussion.

Comparison with the Ukrainian Study. The comparison of the findings of the present study with those of the Ukrainian study was made by making an abbreviated replication of the Italian analyses using Ukrainian data. Unfortunately, some aspects of the analysis which were desirable could not be made because the relevant questions had not been included in the Ukrainian interview schedule; this was true of the satisfaction and the participation scales. Some characteristics of the groups were not similar; while the range in duration of residence in Canada of Italians was wide, about two-thirds of the Ukrainians were born in this country, and most of the remainder had been here thirty or more years. However, despite these differences in the characteristics

of the samples and in the data available the two ethnic groups are very similar at certain points and the results of the two data analyses are virtually identical in most respects. The similarity of the groups is seen in that both are immigrant peoples from a largely rural peasant background who have come to Canada relatively recently and both demonstrate a hard working eagerness to establish themselves and to become successful in their new home. The major difference is somewhat paradoxical; although the Ukrainians arrived in Canada in large numbers considerably before the Italians did, and although many of the former group whom we interviewed were Canadian born, as a group, they are more consistently from a rural peasant background than the Italian sample members. The reason is that the Ukrainian immigrants to Alberta settled in large solid blocks to the East and the North of Edmonton. Thus, a far higher percentage of the Ukrainian sample had a near-peasant farm background even though Canadian born, since they were raised in these Ukrainian areas, than did the Italians, a sizable minority of whom came from towns and cities and from the Northern areas of Italy.

The most important single generalization which can be made about the comparison of the findings of the two studies, is that the patterns of significant relationships between the independent variables and the indices of accommodation are in most cases identical except that the relationships for the Ukrainians were stronger and more consistent. The reason for this is that since the range of Canadian experience was so restricted for the Italians, most of them having arrived in this country within the last nine years, that the relationships could not be as clear cut as they were for the Ukrainians, among whom the distributions of data were more broad. The heterogeneity of the latter group

involved some being Canadian and some being European born, and a wide variation in duration of residence in Edmonton.

Underlying the basic similarities in the findings of the two studies are a number of interesting differences. These, however, tend to substantiate the conception of the processes of accommodation which has emerged during the course of this study rather than to modify it. Since the Ukrainians are more advanced in accommodation to Canadian society, they provide a basis for anticipating later stages in the accommodation of Italians in Alberta. These differences may be briefly summarized as follows.

1. The reading of ethnic language newspapers was less often inversely associated with the accommodation indices and frequency of viewing television was less often directly associated with the accommodation indices for the Italian than for the Ukrainian sample.

2. Ukrainian interviewees, apparently because of the large proportion of second generation immigrants among them, gave much more evidence of neurotic conflict over ethnic identity than was found among the Italian sample members.

3. Dissatisfaction with Canada was found to be distinctively characteristic of the higher class Italians who were interviewed, but this was not found true among the Ukrainians.

4. Associational membership was more frequently significantly associated with many of the independent variables for the Italian than for the Ukrainian samples.

5. Among the Italians interviewed it was the subjects who were best accommodated to Canadian society who had the highest Protestant Ethic scores, whereas among the Ukrainians it was those who were less

well accommodated to the society who had the higher Protestant Ethic scores.

6. There were some differences in the relative frequencies with which independent variables were significantly associated with the criterion indices between the Italians and the Ukrainians; alienation and neuroticism were more frequently associated with the criterion indices for the latter than for the former, and level of the first Canadian job and sex of subject were more frequently associated with the criterion for Italians than for Ukrainians.

The basic explanation for these differences between the two ethnic samples appears to be duration of Canadian residence. The Ukrainians came to Alberta in numbers almost half a century before the Italians did. The differences between the correlates of reading ethnic papers, and of frequent viewing of television are probably a function of the greater English facility of the Ukrainians and thus of the different significance of ethnic newspapers and of television for them in contrast to the Italians. Similarly, it appears to be second generation immigrants, or at least those who have lived in this country a long time, who experience more of conflict over ethnic identity, as the Ukrainians do far more frequently than the Italians.

The greater dissatisfaction with Canada of the Italian higher class sample members in contrast to lower class members is not found among their Ukrainian opposite numbers because it presumes the immigrant possibility of returning to the old country, or at least vivid memory of old country opportunities. Thus, the dissatisfaction would tend to wane as the years slipped by. Membership in associations is related to

more of the independent variables among the Italians than among the Ukrainians, perhaps because such memberships are less generally available, and so are characteristic of a more sharply distinguished group among the Italians. This differential would tend to evaporate as more members of the ethnic group acquired the language facility and the sophistication to qualify for such memberships.

The most recent of immigrant groups strive for working class or lower middle class membership, and thus they fervently embrace the Protestant Ethic, as appears to be true of the more accommodated Italians. However, as the forerunners of the ethnic group move past this position in the social class hierarchy and seek to achieve upper middle class standing their commitment to the Protestant Ethic becomes moderated as they increasingly embrace what La Pierre calls the Freudian Ethic. This appears to account for the fact that, unlike the Italians, among the Ukrainians, the more accommodated members of the sample are characterized by lower Protestant Ethic scores.

The only differential between the two groups which appears to be the result of differences in the two mother cultures is the more frequent association of the dependent variables with sex of the respondent. It would appear that it is the greater emphasis on masculine dominance and the cloistering of women in the Italian culture which is responsible for this difference. Yet, it may be argued that the old Slavonic culture had similar themes, and that it is the impact of Canadian male-female equalitarianism which has, during the decades of Ukrainian experience in Canada, blunted their traditional patriarchalism and so produced the differences we have seen.

THE FUTURE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN EDMONTON

It should be noted that the purpose of this study was not predictive, and in a period of rapid change like the second half of the twentieth century, and in a fluidly changing area like Western Canada any prognosticating remarks are dangerous. Nevertheless there are some bases in the data available for commenting on probable future developments. These bases include what we know about (1) the accommodation of the pre-War Italian immigrants, primarily from the census data; (2) the accommodative patterns and the correlates of accommodation in the recent Italian immigrant group; (3) the accommodation of the Ukrainians who are perhaps one generation advanced beyond the Italians, but who, in background, in motivations and aspirations, and in numbers, are not dissimilar from the Italians. On the basis of these and other relevant data the following statements can be made comparing the rate of accommodation progress to be anticipated for post-war Italian immigrants in Edmonton with the rates of some other groups.

1. The Italian populace of Edmonton will no doubt continue to grow, but quite probably not at the rate that it has during the last decade, and certainly not comparably with the Italian populations of the Eastern Canadian cities, Toronto or Montreal. The reasons are many. In the first place there is no longer the massive emigration from Italy which there was ten years or more ago. The post-war privations have been eliminated and the Italian economy has, in recent years, enjoyed a boom. The largest proportion of Italians who arrive in this country always have, and will surely, continue to settle down in the Eastern cities. In the industrial heart of Canada jobs are relatively plentiful; and

settlement, just beyond the ship landing, as it were, is convenient; The climate is less harsh; the mother-land seems less distant; and the very large Italian settlements in the East are likely to include relatives or friends, and in any case, to make the newcomer feel at home.

2. Although, as we noted, the pre-War Italian immigrants showed a truly remarkable speed of integration and assimilation to Canadian society, it seems unrealistic to expect that the Italians in Edmonton today will succeed in accommodating themselves to Canadian society at a comparable rate. The reasons for the changes in the pre-War group were their hardworking peasant drive to make the most of all of the opportunities available to them, and the sparseness of the Italian populace which forced them to interact, and indeed, often to intermarry with non-Italians because only non-Italians were available. The result, of course, was very rapid acquisition of English fluency, both at speaking and reading, and rapid "learning the ropes" in the new society. There is no reason to doubt that the Italians in Edmonton today are as characterised by the same hardworking peasant savingness and acquisitiveness. However, the density of the Italian population in Edmonton today, and especially the very high proportion who have relatives, and indeed, many relatives, in Edmonton, means that most Italians now have close relationships only with other Italians. We have seen that only a minority have friends, to say nothing of close friends, who are non-Italians. The inevitable consequence is a retarded rate of accommodation to Canadian society. This will be true of men, and this retardation will be far greater for the women, and As a result, the adjustment

of the children to their Canadian land of birth will be slowed down. Many will arrive, on the first day of school, unable to speak English; others will be far more torn between the cultural heritage of the home--still vital because little changed by Canadian confrontation--and the Canadian heritage taught them in school and exemplified in the lives of non-Italian peers.

Accommodation of the group will come, and no doubt rapidly. We have seen that education, English reading facility, having close non-Italian friends, and involvement in many aspects of Canadian life are associated with accommodation to Canadian society for both the Italian and the Ukrainian samples. The schooling experiences of the second generation will give them these prerequisites. But the more exclusively Italian interactions of the first generation post-War immigrants must surely retard their integration progress in contrast to their pre-War immigrant compatriots.

3. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the Italians have shown considerable eagerness to leave the area which is commonly designated as the Italian community and many who still live there indicated during interviews that they wish to leave. This centrifugal force is clearly contrary to the centripetal influence of family relationships and exclusively Italian friendships. In contrast to the Italian communities in Toronto and Montreal, the small size of the Italian population in Edmonton, the size of the city and the relative ease of purchasing housing in most areas of the city makes escape from the Italian community easy for those who will. Thus, it is to be anticipated that the integration of Italians in this area will be more rapid

than it has been of the Ukrainians, the majority of whom were raised in near solidly Ukrainian rural areas, and than of the Italians in Toronto or Montreal who would find it very much more difficult to escape into the non-Italian world.

4. We have seen that second generation Ukrainians tend to show signs of a neurotic conflict over their ethnic identity, and it is to be anticipated that second generation Italians will experience it, in their turn. Both groups are inescapable heirs to derogatory stereotypes. "Bohunk" and "Garlic Snapper" have their Italian equivalents--"Wop" and "Dago." Worse still, perhaps, the "Mafia" gangster themes in the Italian stereotype are not paralleled by similar sinister or fear-hate engendering themes in the Ukrainian stereotype. Both have encountered discriminatory immigration treatment; the Ukrainians were widely heralded, and despised as "Sifton's folly." Before 1962, both Ukrainians and Italians were third class prospective immigrants in the view of the Canadian government, ranking behind Egyptians, Lebanese, Turks, etc. The result of this derogatory heritage can only be some experience of the same kind of ambivalence, self hatred, and identity conflict which we found distinctive evidence of in the predominantly second generation Ukrainian sample.

5. We have noted that the limited information available suggests a remarkably low incidence of criminal and mental-emotional deviancy among Italians in Edmonton. Insofar as confusion and conflict over Italian identity are very likely to increase, and insofar as the conflict between old country ways and Canadian ways is likely to increase for the second generation, one must anticipate on the basis of plentiful

American experience that the incidence of deviancy among members of the second generation must inevitably increase.

But it is possible that the Canadian-American parallels are inexact. Thirty or forty years have elapsed since most of the American studies of immigrant assimilation were completed. During this period the world has shrunk almost beyond recognition. There are reasons for sustaining the hopeful belief that there has been an increase in tolerant appreciation of other people in many segments of the population.¹

¹See, for example, G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype persistence and change among college students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, April, 1951, pp. 245-254, for a study of the weakening of the influence of stereotypes. Bogardus has demonstrated a decline in the tendency of the majority group to reject minority groups in the United States. Emory Bogardus, "Racial distance changes in the United States during the past thirty years," *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December, 1958, pp. 127-135.

Certainly there is much more sophisticated appreciation of psychological and sociological processes on the part of the public as a whole. The social security cushioning of most people against financial disaster has increased dramatically in North America during the period. There is reason to believe that under these circumstances foreign immigrants may not be seen as posing the kinds of threats that they at one time symbolized. The influence of the United Nations in broadening an appreciation of the diversity within "One World" at least to some extent must be recognized.

Thus, there is reason to hope that perhaps much higher proportions of immigrants and their children may be able to cross, and even perhaps to firmly bridge the gap between the Italian past and the Canadian present without being plunged into confusion, disorganization, and deviancy. The people whom we have dealt with in this study, and their children, will have a chance to try.

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APPENDIX I

ITALIAN STUDY

Respondent _____

Date _____ Address _____

Interviewer _____

1. Respondent's sex M F
2. How old are you? _____
3. Are you single, married, widowed, divorced or separated?
4. INTERVIEWERS: Obtain the complete residential history of the respondent stating with his present place of residence. Length of residences must add up to age.

EDMONTON		Length of Residence	Reason for moving
Ital. Comm.	Non-Ital. Comm.		
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
Other Residence		_____	_____
_____		_____	_____

5. Are you thinking or planning to move from your present residence in the near future?
6. Where do you plan to move?
7. Why do you want to move?
8. Where were you born?
9. Where was your father born?
10. Where was your mother born?
11. What part of Italy is your father's family from? (North Center South)
12. How many brothers and sisters who are still living do you have?
 Brothers _____ In Canada _____ In Italy _____
 Sisters _____
13. Have you any who are no longer living?
 Brothers _____ Sisters _____
14. Is your husband/wife Italian too? Y N
 If not, what is his/her nationality?
15. At present, do you live alone or with others? With whom? (circle response)
 a. alone b. spouse c. parent d. married children
 e. relative f. close friend g. other
16. Do you own the home you live in?
 a. own b. rent c. live in but pay no rent
 d. co-owner e. other

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

17. How many years of formal schooling have you had?
18. If the respondent gives a response which cannot be fitted into formal schooling categories, record it here:
19. Have you ever had any specialized training in connection with your work that lasted 6 months or longer? (If yes, record type of training here)

20. How much formal schooling did your father have?
If response cannot be fitted into formal schooling categories,
record it here:
- How much formal schooling did your mother have?
If response cannot be fitted into formal schooling categories,
record it here:
21. What is your occupation now or when you were last employed?
22. What is your husband's/wife's occupation now or when he/she was
last employed?
Man's (husband) occupation _____
(get specific job title wherever possible)
Woman's (wife) occupation _____
(get specific job title - state if now housewife at home)
23. Are you currently: Man (husband) woman (wife)
 working housewife at home
 retired working part time
 unemployed working fulltime
 other retired
 unemployed
 other
24. If the subject ever had a job in Italy, ask: What was the last job
you had in Italy?
If subject's husband ever held a job in Italy, ask: which was the
last job your husband had in Italy?
25. For those reporting their occupation as small business owner:
a. How many years have you been in your present business here?
b. What business have you been in before this? Business?
How Long?
c. What would you estimate the cash value of your business to be?
(including plant and all machinery which is owned or being
purchased) \$ _____
d. How many employees do you have? Full time _____ Part time _____
Does this include any members of your immediate family?
e. Does your family work in your business? If so, whom? _____
26. For those reporting themselves or their husband as employees of
other persons: do you (or does your husband) supervise any people
on the job? How many? _____
27. For those respondents who report their occupation as contractor,
either as a single occupation or in addition to some other occupation
Do you retain any full-time employees during the period that you
contract? If yes, how many? Do you ever work for (hire out to)
other contractors?
28. What was your main source of income in 1964? (circle it)
Did you receive income from any of these other sources? (check mark)

28.
 - a. wages or salary
 - b. business or professional practice (not including rents)
 - c. income from rents (suites, houses or business property)
 - d. government pension
 - e. pension from private employer
 - f. income from stocks or bonds
 - g. other interest, dividends or insurance annuities
 - h. regular cash contributions from outside your house, as from your children or other relatives, family allowance (15 yrs and under)
 - i. other
29. Including all regular sources, about how much would you say your total income (cash) came to in 1964? (including income from spouse) \$_____
30. Would you say, then that your (your husband's) principal occupation has been _____
31. What was your father's job? (Precise occupational title)
32. What was your (husband's) first full-time job? (Precise Occupational title) (Don't report woman's first job unless she is single)
33. If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of a job would you like to have?
34. Applicable only to respondents with children. Record relevant spontaneous comments here)
 - a. What kind of job would you like your sons to get?
 - b. What kind of job would you like your daughters to get?
 - c. How far in school do you want to try to make sure that your sons will go?
 - d. How far in school do you want to try to make sure that your daughters will go?
35. How many children did your mother have?
36. How many children have you had?
37. How many of your children are still living?
38. How many more children do you expect to have?
39. What do you consider to be the ideal number of children for a family to have?

FOR SINGLE RESPONDENTS

40. How many children did your mother have?
41. What do you consider to be the ideal number of children to have?

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

42. Do you like the present government (Manning) or would you like a change?
43. Whom do you prefer at the Government: Pearson, Diefenbaker, Douglas, Thompson?
44. Did you vote in the last general election, or were you unable to for some reason?
- a. voted
 - b. physically unable to (ill, out of town, etc.)
 - c. non eligible to vote
 - d. willfully did not vote
 - e. can't remember
45. Did you vote in the last provincial election or were you unable to vote for some reason?
- a. voted
 - b. physically unable to (ill, out of town, etc.)
 - c. not eligible to vote
 - d. willfully did not vote
 - e. can't remeber
46. Do you think it is important that there be MP's who are new Canadians to defend the interests of new Canadians?
47. Have you ever voted for a new Canadian candidate despite the fact that you did not like his party?
- a. at a provincial level: yes no
 - b. at a dominion level: yes no
48. How important are Dominion politics to you? (circle response)
- very fairly not too totally unimportant
49. How important are Provincial politics to you? (circle response)
- very fairly not too totally unimportant
50. How important are Municipal politics to you? (circle response)
- very fairly not too totally unimportant
51. Of what church do you consider yourself a member?
52. How religious would you say that you are: ☐ very religious
 ☐ moderately religious
 ☐ not very religious
 ☐ not at all religious
53. About how often do you attend church? (check one answer)
- a. more than once a week
 - b. about once a week
 - c. about 2 or 3 times a month
 - d. about once a month
 - e. two or three times a year
 - f. never
 - g. altra risposta (other)

54. Have you ever changed the Church to which you belong? Y N Why.
(If yes) What church did you belong to before?

55. To what church did your father belong?

56. To what church did your mother belong?

Have any of your brothers, sisters, etc. married people who are not Italian? Brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, daughters, sons? If yes, what is the nationality of the person he/she married? Are each of these people attending the Italian church which they were brought up in as children? If no, what church do they now attend?

57. BROTHERS INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership

58. SISTERS INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership.

59. AUNTS INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership

60. UNCLES INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership

61. SONS INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership

62. DAUGHTERS INTERMARRIED

Nationality of Mate Current Church Membership

Have any other brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, sons or daughters (not intermarried) joined non-Italian churches? If so, how many?

63. Brothers _____ 64. Sisters _____ 65. Aunts _____

66. Uncles _____ 67. Sons _____ 68. Daughters _____

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions (circle response)

69. Do you think that there is a tendency for Italians to be more tight with their money than they should be?

70. Some Italian customs should no longer be practiced because they delay the acceptance of Italians into Canadian society. (Watch for responses which protest against assimilation).

71. It would be better for Italians if they got out and mixed more with other Canadians.

72. Have you ever felt embarrassed observing the way Italians behave, in general, in Edmonton?

73. Do you think it is easier to learn English while living in the Italian community?
74. Are you interested in building a "Little Italy" in Edmonton?
75. Do you think the Italian community could serve as a model for the Canadian neighbours?
76. Provided that the merchandise is of the same quality, do you prefer to buy in a Canadian or Italian store?
a. Italian store b. Canadian store c. indifferent
77. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
78. Many of the Italians I know work too hard- they ought to relax and enjoy life.
79. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
80. There is little use in writing to government officials, because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man.
81. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
82. Would you say that one of the things you admire about Italian women is that they will pitch in and do strenuous work when it needs to be done, as Canadian women will not?
83. Do you think it is a good thing for a woman to have a paying job after she is married? Why?
84. Do you think that intermarriage between Italians and non-Italians should be discouraged? If not, why not?
85. Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school, like a separate school?
86. Would you rather have your son or daughter go to an Italian language school on Saturday mornings than have them take a part-time job where they could work for their spending money?
87. Would you rather live in a small town where you could raise your children to learn Italian ways, than in a city where your children might get a better job but might become disinterested in Italian customs.
88. (Just for the youngest respondents)
Do you plan to make sure that your children will be able to speak Italian?

89. Would you say that the Italian church controls her members too much?
90. Have you ever attended an Italian language school in Canada?
Where? _____ When? _____ For how long? _____
91. Do you spend much time thinking over good times you have had in the past?
92. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any particular reason?
93. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?
94. Do you usually take the first step in making new friends?
95. Are you inclined to be quick and sure in your actions?
96. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?
97. In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.
98. Would you be very unhappy if you were prevented from making many social contacts?
99. Are you inclined to be moody?
100. Are you often troubled with feelings of guilt?
101. Have you ever taken part in voluntary public work to help organizations like the Red Cross, March of Dimes, youth group activities, the 4-H Clubs and things like that?
Specify the kind of service offered to which organization.
102. Is there a community chest or United Fund in this community?
Yes ___ No ___ No answer ___ Don't know ___
Code Response: A - Agree DK - Don't know D - Disagree NA No answer
103. If you had a great deal of money, would you work as much as you do now?
104. (WE WANT TO KNOW HOW STRONGLY YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE 5 OR 6 ITEMS);
HOW SURE ARE YOU OF THIS ANSWER:
(Very sure, 1 - Fairly sure, 2 - Not too sure, 3)
- Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does not get done?
105. Would you say that you work like a slave at everything you do until you are satisfied with the results?

106. Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do?
107. Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?
108. If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?

MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE

109. What newspapers do you read regularly and fairly thoroughly?
In Italian In English
110. What magazines do you read regularly and fairly thoroughly?
In Italian In English
111. Do you have a TV set? YES NO If yes: About how many hours a week would you say you watch TV? _____ hrs/wk
112. If you had the time, which five programs would you like to watch? (List the programs)
113. Here is a list of the various ways people find out about things. (Hand respondent card 1) Which would you say are the three most important to you? (Try to avoid defining "things." If pressed, say politics, important events)
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| _____ radio | _____ TV | _____ Magazines | _____ Newspapers |
| _____ School | _____ Church | _____ Personal | _____ film |
| | | experience | |
| _____ other | _____ talking with | | |
| | people you know | | |
114. About how many close personal friends do you have?
How many of these people are of Italian origin?
Think of your three closest friends, how many of them are Italian?
115. Think of the things which are most important to you. Which three things on this list are the most important to you in the long run?
116. If you had to decide which one was the most important, which would it be?
- | | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| Making money | _____ | _____ |
| Politics or community affairs | | |
| Religious beliefs or activities | | |
| The respect of others | | |
| Being well-liked | | |
| Being highly skilled in what I do | | |
| Being a just and honest person | | |
| Leisure time activities such as hunting, fishing, | | |
| Reading or relaxing | | |
| Maintaining Italian traditions | | |
| Family relationships | | |

117. What kind of things do you do in your spare time (Probe for leisure time activities)
118. How do you feel about Italians who change their family names to English names? (PAUSE)
Do you feel that it is: a. never justified
b. justified if the person's success in his work seems to depend on it
c. Up to the individual, whatever he might want to do.
119. Do you find that there are any outstandingly good things about life in Canada? (Compared with other countries in which you have lived)
120. What is the most unpleasant thing you find about life in Canada?
121. When you came to Canada as an immigrant, were you encouraged by your relatives or friends already living in Canada?
122. Did they give you financial help? How much? Was this money a present or a loan?
123. Do you have relatives in Italy? Would you advise them to come to Canada? Would you give them financial help?
124. Do you think that your relatives living in Italy envy You? Why?
125. Would you go back to Italy, to stay? Why?
126. Do you hope to go back to Italy forever?
a. positively b. probably c. perhaps d. no.
127. If you had to do it all over again, would you leave Italy?
a. yes b. probably c. don't know d. no
128. If you had your choice, would you most like to be:
a. successful b. independent c. well-liked
129. How often have you felt discrimination against you because you are Italian?
a. often b. once in a while c. just a few times d. not at all
130. What kinds of people have you felt this discrimination from? (Teachers, bosses, store clerks, etc). DON'T PROMPT UNLESS NECESSARY Where?
131. How much would you say that you have been held back from getting ahead in life by discrimination against Italians?
a. very much b. somewhat c. a little bit d. not at all.
132. If you had the choice of buying in a Canadian store, or in a store where only Italian was spoken, but where prices were a little higher, and could get the same things in both stores, where would you choose to buy?
Italian store Canadian store Not sure

133. Many people say that they can live only from one day to the other at this time. Do you think this way too, or do you believe you can make plans for the future?
 a. one day to another b. plan for the future c. answer cannot be categorized
 d. no answer
134. Some people tell us that one of the serious problems in their community is taking care of the old people. Is this a problem in this community?
 yes aware no now aware ambiguous
 Are there any other specific problems in this community?
135. Are you aware of the argument between French-Canadians and English Canadians?
 yes no don't know no answer
 Who do you feel is right, the French-Canadians or the English-Canadians?
 FC EC No answer
136. Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?
 a. Canadian born
 b. Naturalized Canadian
 c. Not yet, Canadian citizen but plan to become one
 d. Not Canadian citizen and do not plan to become one
 e. Not Canadian, do not yet know whether will become one
137. What language do you speak with your wife/husband?
 Italian English
138. What language do your children use among themselves
 Italian English
139. What language do you speak with your children?
 Italian English
140. Would you like that your children should be able to speak, read and write Italian?
141. Why do you want your children to learn Italian?
142. What was your main reason for buying this particular house? or which would influence you most if you were to buy a house?
 a. price of the house
 b. relatives close by
 c. there are other Italians in the neighbourhood
 d. It is close to good schools
 e. there are not other Italians in the neighbourhood
 f. there are no relatives living close
 g. fashionable neighbourhood
 h. other
143. Do you have Real Estate in Canada? What?

144. Do you own Real Estate in Italy? What?
145. Do you have Italian relatives in Edmonton? YES NO How many?
Do you go to visit them very often, or do they come to see you very often? How often?
146. Do you have any relatives living in this same house? How many?
147. Do you see your Italian friends often? How often?
148. (If the person indicated that he had non-Italian friends) Do you often go to see your non-Italian friends or do they come often to see you? How often?
149. Do you go to social events organized by people of Italian origin here in Edmonton? How many times a year?
150. Do you go to social events organized by people of non-Italian origin, here in Edmonton? How many times a year?
151. Who is the President of Italy?
152. The way life is today, there is not much room for choice even in personal matters.
153. The future looks very dismal.
154. A child should be required to consult his parents before making any kind of decision.
155. A child should not plan to enter any occupation his parents do not approve of.
156. It is wicked for children to disobey their parents.
157. A good way to discipline a child is to shame him before his playmates
158. Children should fear their parents to some degree.
159. A child should always accept the decision of his parents.
160. Parents should never enter a child's room without his permission.
161. It is best to give children the impression that parents have no faults.
162. Children should often be allowed to have their own way.

Note to interviewer: Please circle number corresponding to answer.

1 - strongly agree

3 - disagree

2 - agree

4 - strongly disagree

163. In today's world, the only way of finding out how things really are is to listen to important or trusted men.

164. Basically, in this world we are alone.
165. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
166. In the long run the best way to life is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as your own.
167. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.
168. It is a waste of money to buy newspapers because you know in advance that they are just plain propaganda.
169. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
170. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.
171. A man who does not believe in something great has not really lived.
172. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
173. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important problems of today don't really understand what is going on.
174. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.
175. In my marriage I want the husband and wife to have an equal voice in making family decisions.
176. In my marriage I want the husband alone to make the important decisions for his family.
177. In my marriage I want the wife to share in the financial support of the family as much as she is able.
178. In my marriage I want an equal sharing of housework if both husband and wife have jobs outside the home.
179. In my marriage I want the wife to gracefully accept whatever money the husband feels he can give her.
180. In my marriage I want the wife to accept the fact that the husband will devote most of his time to getting ahead and becoming a success.
181. In my marriage I want the wife to be responsible for training our children so that the husband can concentrate on getting ahead.
182. I would object to long and frequent visits from the husband's or the wife's parents after marriage.

183. In my marriage I want my children to be planned with the aid of birth control devices.
184. I want my home after marriage to be a place where husband and wife and friends can drink, smoke, "get loud" and tell "off color stories" if they want
185. I want the kind of marriage in which money is spent for nice things rather than saved.
186. I would be opposed to divorce even if my children suffered from my unhappy marriage.
187. I want the kind of marriage in which the family has first claim on the husband's time, even if it interferes with his getting ahead in the world.
188. I want the kind of marriage in which the family has first claim on the wife's time, even though it may interfere with her social life.
189. Sometimes I feel alone in the world.
190. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
191. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are taking advantage of me.
192. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
193. It is frightening to be responsible for bringing up a little child.
194. There just aren't any definite rules to live by.
195. I often wonder if there is any meaning in life.
196. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."
197. The only thing you can be sure of today, is that you can be sure of nothing.
198. There are few dependable ties between people any more.
199. In my marriage I want the husband and wife to have freedom to have their own interests and freedom to go on separate vacations.

1. To what clubs, associations or organizations do you belong? We are interested in all the local, national, and world-wide groups of which you are a member.
2. Last year how often did you attend the meetings of this organization?
3. Are you now or have you ever been an officer, committee chairman or leader of any kind in this organization?
4. How did you first hear about and come to join this group?
5. In the last 2 years, about how many persons would you say that you have personally influenced to become members of this organization?

APPENDIX II

COMPONENT ITEMS OF THE SCALES USED IN THIS STUDY

DEAN ALIENATION SCALE

152. The way life is today, there is not much room for choice even in personal matters.
153. The future looks very dismal.
189. Sometimes I feel alone in the world.
190. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
191. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are taking advantage of me.
192. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
193. It is frightening to be responsible for bringing up a little child.
194. There just aren't any definite rules to live by.
195. I often wonder if there is any meaning in life.
196. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."
197. The only thing you can be sure of today, is that you can be sure of nothing.
198. There are few dependable ties between people any more.

SRROLE ANOMIE SCALE

77. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
79. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
80. There is little use in writing to government officials, because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man.
81. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
97. In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.

REJECTION OF ITALIANISMS SCALE

- 69. Do you think that there is a tendency for Italians to be more tight with their money than they should be?
- 70. Some Italian customs should no longer be practiced because they delay the acceptance of Italians into Canadian society.
- 71. It would be better for Italians if they got out and mixed more with other Canadians.
- 72. Have you ever felt embarrassed observing the way Italians behave, in general, in Edmonton?
- 78. Many of the Italians I know work too hard--they ought to relax and enjoy life.

CHAUVINISM SCALE

- 73. Do you think it is easier to learn English while living in the Italian community?
- 74. Are you interested in building a "little Italy" in Edmonton?
- 75. Do you think the Italian community could serve as a model for the Canadian neighbours?
- 76. Provided that the merchandise is of the same quality, do you prefer to buy in a Canadian or Italian store?
a. Italian store b. Canadian store c. indifferent.
- 82. Would you say that one of the things you admire about Italian women is that they will pitch in and do strenuous work when it needs to be done, as Canadian women will not?
- 85. Do you think it would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school, like a separate school?
- 86. Would you rather have your son or daughter go to an Italian language school on Saturday mornings than have them take a part-time job where they could work for their spending money?
- 87. Would you rather live in a small town where you could raise your children to learn Italian ways, than in a city where your children might get a better job but might become disinterested in Italian customs.
- 88. (Just for the youngest respondents)
Do you plan to make sure that your children will be able to speak Italian?

MAUDSLEY NEUROTICISM SCALE

- 91. Do you spend much time thinking over good times you have had in the past?
- 92. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any particular reason?
- 93. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?
- 96. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?
- 99. Are you inclined to be moody?
- 100. Are you often troubled with feelings of guilt?

MAUDSLEY EXTRAVERSION SCALE

- 94. Do you usually take the first step in making new friends?
- 95. Are you inclined to be quick and sure in your actions?
- 98. Would you be very unhappy if you were prevented from making many social contacts?

ROKEACH DOGMATISM SCALE

- 163. In today's world, the only way of finding out how things really are is to listen to important or trusted men.
- 164. Basically, in this world we are alone.
- 165. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
- 166. In the long run the best way to life is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as your own.
- 167. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.
- 168. It is a waste of money to buy newspapers because you know in advance that they are just plain propaganda.
- 169. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
- 170. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.
- 171. A man who does not believe in something great has not really lived.

ROKEACH DOGMATISM SCALE (Continued)

- 172. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
- 173. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important problems of today don't really understand what is going on.
- 174. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.

SHOBEN CHILD DOMINANCE SCALE

- 154. A child should be required to consult his parents before making any kind of decision.
- 155. A child should not plan to enter any occupation his parents don't approve of.
- 156. It is wicked for children to disobey their parents.
- 158. Children should fear their parents to some degree.
- 159. A child should always accept the decision of his parents.
- 160. Parents should never enter a child's room without his permission.
- 162. Children should often be allowed to have their own way.

PROTESTANT ETHIC SCALE

- 103. If you had a great deal of money, would you work as much as you do now?
- 104. Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does not get done?
- 105. Would you say that you work like a slave at everything you do until you are satisfied with the results?
- 106. Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do?
- 107. Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?
- 108. If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?

INVOLVEMENT SCALE

48. How important are Dominion politics to you? (circle response)
 very fairly not too totally unimportant
50. How important are Municipal politics to you? (circle response)
 very fairly not too totally unimportant
84. Do you think that intermarriage between Italians and non-Italians should be discouraged? If not, why not?
101. Have you ever taken part in voluntary public work to help organizations like the Red Cross, March of Dimes, youth group activities, the 4-H Clubs and things like that? Specify the kind of service offered to which organization.
114. About how many close personal friends do you have? How many of these people are of Italian origin? Think of your three closest friends/ How many of them are Italians?

To what clubs, associations or organizations do you belong? We are interested in all the local, national, and world-wide groups of which you are a member.

SATISFACTION SCALE

123. Do you have relatives in Italy? Would you advise them to come to Canada? Would you give them financial help?
124. Do you think that your relatives living in Italy envy you? Why?
125. Would you go back to Italy, to stay? Why?
126. Do you hope to go back to Italy forever?
 a. positively b. probably c. perhaps d. no.
127. If you had to do it all over again, would you leave Italy?
 a. yes b. probably c. don't know d. no.

APPENDIX III

ATTITUDES OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS TOWARD THE SEPARATISM ISSUE

Two items were included in the interview schedule dealing with the separatism issue because it seemed likely that the Italian immigrants might have a distinctive position on it. There are two main reasons for anticipating that the Italians might be sympathetic to the French Canadian position. The first is that the Italians share with the French a romance linguistic and cultural heritage, and a common religion, Roman Catholicism, and as a result they must find it much easier and more "natural" to identify with French than with English Canadians. The second is that the Italians in Western Canada are in the position which the French often complain of, of having to adjust to English personnel in a wide variety of situations on the terms of the latter, and thus are being forced to some extent to discard their own cultural heritage. It might be argued that the Italians anticipated this when they made the decision to come to Canada, and accepted it at that time, so that this necessity to make adjustments is not a source of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, it may be that even though they did expect it, when it came to actually doing it, they may still find themselves frustrated, resentful, and "ripe" to identify with the French Canadians, whose protest is similar, more easily justified, and vehemently expressed.

The items included in the schedule which are relevant dealt with their familiarity with the separatism issue, and with their sympathies in the matter: the first asked: "are you aware of the argument between French-Canadians and English-Canadians?" The second asked, "Who do you

feel is right, the French-Canadians or the English-Canadians?" We shall deal with the responses to these two items, and with the characteristics of respondents making certain answers to these items, in turn.

FAMILIARITY WITH THE SEPARATISM ISSUE

Of the 418 subjects interviewed, 189, or 45.2 per cent, responded that they had heard of the separatism controversy; 104 (24.9 per cent) said that they had not heard of it and the remaining 125 (30.9 per cent) failed to respond. The differences between the men and the women were sizable. Almost 70 per cent of the men had heard of separatism but only 20 per cent of the women had. The non-response rate was only 20 per cent for the men, but it was 37 per cent for the women. In the analysis which follows we shall group together the no answer with the respondents who said that they had not heard of the issue, since the reason for the silence of the former group was apparently their ignorance of the issue.

In Table I is found a summary of the interrelationships between familiarity with the separatism issue and some of the independent variables which we have used throughout the study. The data are presented for men and for women separately because in view of the large differences in their familiarity with the issue there seemed to be little justification for pooling their responses. In about half of the cases the relationship is similar for both sex groups. In one case it was reversed for the two groups.

The table shows that for both sex groups, familiarity with the

TABLE I

FAMILIARITY WITH THE SEPARATISM ISSUE, AND PARTISANSHIP ON THIS ISSUE BY
SEX, WITH INDICATION OF DIRECTION OF RELATIONSHIPS AND SIGNIFICANCE
LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARES

	Know of Separatism		Favor French Position	
	Male	Female	Male Only	
Pre-Migration Variables				
North-South Origins	+1%	+1%	0	
Age	0	0	+Fr	5%
Sex	+5%	0		
Social Class				
Occupation of Father	+5%	+1%	+Fr	1%
Education	+1%	+1%	+Fr	5%
Man's Last Italian Job	+5%	+1%	+Fr	5%
Personality				
Frequency of Church Attend.	0	+5%		0
Chauvinism	0	-5%	+Fr	5%
Neuroticism	0	-5%		0
Dogmatism	0	0	-Fr	5%
Alienation	0	0		0
Post-Migration Variables				
Live in Italian Community	0	-1%		0
Interpersonal Interaction				
Non-Italian Friends	+Eng. .1%	+Eng .1%		0
Relatives in Edmonton	-1%	-5%	-Fr	5%
Close Italian Relations	-5%	0		0
Ego-Siblings Intermarry	+5%	+1%		0
Cultural Exposure				
Duration Canadian Residence	+1%	+5%	+Fr	5%
Reads Italian Papers	0	0		0
Reads English Papers	+1%	+1%	+Fr	1%
Reads Ital/English Magazines	+1%	+1%	+Fr	5%
Sources of Information				
People	-2%	0	+Fr	.1%
School	0	0	-Fr	1%
Church	0	0	-Fr	5%
No. of Sources of Information	0	0		0
Social Class				
Level of 1st Canadian Job	+5%	+1%		0
Level of Current Can. Job	+1%	+1%		0
Mobility Comp/w Father	+5%	-5%	=Fr	1%
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	+5%	-5%	-Fr	1%
Naturalization	+1%	+1%	+Fr	5%

TABLE I (Continued)

	Curvelin.	Male	Female
	M ++ .1%		
Rejection	F ++ 1%	0	
Anomie	F - 5%		
	M 0	0	
Participation	F ++ .1%		
	M ++ 5%	0	
Satisfaction	F 0		
	M 0	0	

separatism issue is associated with being from the North of Italy, with a higher class Italian background as indicated by all three indices, with not having relatives in Edmonton, with intermarriage of self or siblings, with lengthy residence in Canada, with reading English publications, with higher Canadian social class standing in terms of two indices, with being naturalized, with high participation scores, and with high rejection of Italianisms scores. The one case in which the relationships were reversed involved mobility in comparison with the last Italian job, which was directly associated with familiarity with the separatism issue for men but inversely association with familiarity with the separatism issue for women. This is apparently related to the facts that higher Italian social class women are more familiar with the issue than lower class ones, and their husbands are more likely to be downwardly mobile in this country since they are often unable to obtain positions in this country at the same level as those they left behind. The same relationship is not true for men because knowledge of the separatism issue is much more widely disseminated among the men.

There were some relationships were significant for one sex group only--familiarity with the issue was directly associated with mobility in comparison with the last Italian job, and inversely associated with close relationships with relatives and with mentioning people as a source of important information, for men only. Most of the relationships which were significant for women only involved personality variables. Familiarity with the issue was significantly associated directly with frequency of church attendance and inversely with chauvinism, neuroticism, and anomie scores and with living in the Italian community, for women only.

It is clear from this pattern of relationships that familiarity with the separatism issue is rather consistently associated with the independent variables which are also associated with most of the indices of accommodation and this is true of the sex difference in familiarity with the issue as well. Thus, we can generalize by saying that those who are well accommodated to Canadian society tend to be familiar with the issue, whereas those who are not well accommodated to Canadian society tend to be unfamiliar with the issue.

PARTISANSHIP ON THE SEPARATISM ISSUE

As noted earlier, subjects were asked, "Who do you feel is right, the French-Canadians or the English-Canadians?" Only 38 per cent of the sample answered this question. Most of those who did not were, of course, those who indicated that they were not familiar with the separatism issue, in answer to the preceding question, or had failed to respond to the preceding question. However, 54 subjects who said that they were familiar with the issue did not answer the second question. They were about equally distributed between the men and women who had indicated their familiarity; 40 out of 147 men who knew of the issue and 14 out of 42 women who knew of the issue did not answer. There is no explanation for this response attrition; perhaps they were lying when they said that they were familiar with the issue; perhaps, since Edmonton is clearly in English-Canada some were afraid to answer this question. Since only 28 out of 206 women gave an answer to this question, they were eliminated from further consideration.

Accordingly the analysis is based on the responses of the 107--out of a total of 212 men in the sample--who answered this question. The relevant data are found in Table I which contains a summary of the relationships between some of the independent variables used in this study and the responses to this question.

Slightly over one-third (34.6 per cent) of the men thought the French Canadians were right; 61 per cent thought the English were right, and the remaining five per cent gave a variety of other answers. The division of the women's responses were comparable.

The data in Table I show that favoring the French position is directly associated with higher Italian social class membership as indicated by all three indices, with chauvinism, with age, with lengthy residence in Canada, with reading English publications, with mentioning people as an important source of information, and with being a naturalized citizen of Canada. It is inversely associated with dogmatism, with having relatives in Edmonton, with mentioning the church and the school as sources of important information, and with mobility in comparison with the last Italian job and with the father's occupational position. It is noteworthy that there are no significant relationships between the criterion and area of residence in Edmonton, having close non-Italian friends, intermarriage of self or siblings, current occupational level, and rejection, participation and satisfaction scores.

The major implication of this pattern of relationships is that favorability toward the French position is associated with higher class Italian status, with age, and with lengthy residence in Canada. Those favoring the English position tend to be of a lower class Italian background

younger, and shorter duration residents of Canada. The inverse relationships of mobility with favoring the French position is in accord with this since it is those from a lower class Italian background who are more frequently upwardly mobile in Canada.

In summary, then, we may say that Italian men are much more frequently familiar with the separatism issue than are Italian women, and that among both groups it is the more accommodated to Canadian society who are familiar with it. Among the men, furthermore, the majority are in favor of the English position almost two to one. Those who are in favor of the French position tend to come from higher class Italian backgrounds, to be older and relatively long term residents of Canada. However, those who are more rapidly upwardly mobile tend to favor the English position.

